

# Daily Report

# Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-93-195 Tuesday 12 October 1993

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### Ethiopia

# President Discusses Somalia With U.S. Envoy Oakley

EA1010152893 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia Network in Amharic 0500 GMT 10 Oct 93

[Text] On 9 October, President Meles Zenawi met with Ambassador Robert Oakley, the U.S. special envoy to Somalia. During the meeting, President Meles noted that Ethiopia and its neighbors would persevere with their efforts to solve the problems in Somalia until peace and reconciliation prevailed in that country. During the meeting, President Meles said that Ethiopia and its neighbors were very pleased with the new policy for solving the problems of southern Mogadishu politically. Ambassador Oakley, for his part, thanked Ethiopia and its neighbors for their efforts to bring about peace in Somalia. He noted that they would also do their best in the future.

### Somalia

# SNA Spokesman: U.S. Envoy Oakley 'Instigator' of Crisis

EA0810192593 (Clandestine) Radio Mogadishu Voice of the Great Somali People in Somali 1700 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Text] A spokesman for the SNA [Somali National Alliance] stated today that the policies of Bill Clinton's administration were based on the barrel of a gun and the world [word indistinct] that will not bring peaceful political policies to resolve the situation in Somalia. The SNA spokesman added that Bill Clinton has dispatched over 5,300 fresh troops from U.S. air, land and marine forces. Their basic objective is to openly slaughter the women and children of Somalia [words indistinct] massacre which the United States continues to unleash on the Somali people.

[Words indistinct] the Somali people eagerly awaiting assistance from the international community [words indistinct] the internal affairs of Somalia. It is shameful that the United States is forging ahead in dispatching the latest U.S. armaments for no other reason [words indistinct].

The spokesman added that Bill Clinton is once again sending Ambassador Robert Oakley to Somalia. He is the man who ignited the current fire burning between Somalia and the United States. The SNA sees Robert Oakley as the instigator of the current crisis between the United Nations and Somalia. Robert Oakley was sent to Somalia by former U.S. President Bush, and it is a shame that the current administration is bringing back such a person. This shows that Bill Clinton's administration [words indistinct] Somali affairs and has failed to send a neutral, clean representative.

The SNA is ready for any peaceful program—for example the March 1993 Addis Ababa Accord—in which the leaders of all the Somali factions agreed on the

reconstruction of Somalia and the reconciliation of the Somali people. The SNA spokesman stated that anything outside these agreements cannot bring peace.

# Aidid Said Ready for Cease-Fire, Dialogue on Settlement

AB0910191893 Paris AFP in English 1905 GMT 9 Oct 93

[By Marie Joannidis]

[Excerpt] Mogadishu, Oct 9 (AFP)—Fugitive warlord Mohamed Farah Aidid said Saturday [9 October] he was ready for a ceasefire and dialogue to find a peaceful settlement to the conflict in Somalia.

In a broadcast on his rebel radio station Aidid said his movement, the Somali National Alliance (SNA), agreed to end the conflict with U.S. Forces and wanted to find a "just and peaceful" settlement of the political differences between the two sides.

The move came as a U.S. special envoy, Robert Oakley, headed for Mogadishu to broker a political settlement.

Aidid said he agreed to a U.S. proposal for an Ethiopianled independent investigation into the killing on June 5 of 24 Pakistani UN troops in an ambush, for which he had been held responsible by the United Nations.

The establishment of an independent commission of enquiry into the incident might give the United Nations a face-saving way of rolling back from the UN Security Council resolution implicity calling for Aidid's arrest, while getting the SNA to cease its deadly attacks on UN forces, observers in Mogadishu said.

The SNA also agreed with the U.S. call for the Somali faction leaders to resolve their political differences themselves, with the Organization of African Unity (OAU) playing an active role in the quest for a peaceful settlement. [passage omitted]

### **SNA Spokesman Comments**

AB0910135093 Paris AFP in English 1324 GMT 9 Oct 93

[By Marie Joannidis]

[Excerpt] Mogadishu, Oct 9 (AFP)—The Somali National Alliance (SNA) of fugitive warlord Mohamed Farah Aidid said Saturday [9 October] it was ready to negotiate a truce and political settlement with the top U.S. envoy who was headed for Mogadishu. "We welcome any dialogue, peace talks, with the United States and the United Nations," SNA spokesman Burhan Gutale told AFP. He added the SNA was calling for a ceasefire "because we don't want more casualties."

The SNA's press chief Abdi Haji Gobdon said the SNA welcomed the U.S. proposal for an Ethiopian-led independent commission of enquiry to look into who was responsible for the attacks on UN forces in Somalia.

"We are very pleased. General Aidid has asked repeatedly for the formation of a neutral committee of enquiry," Gobdon said.

Observers here believe such a commission might give the United Nations a face-saving way of rolling back from the UN Security Council resolution which implicity calls for Aidid's arrest, while getting the SNA to cease its deadly attacks on UN forces.

Referring to the envoy, former U.S. ambassador to Mogadishu Robert Oakley, Gobdon said: "He knows the country as well as General Aidid. He even speaks Somali." Gobdon said the United States was "the only power that can make peace." Asked about the captured U.S. helicopter pilot whom the SNA is holding, he said: "When the discussions start, we can discuss an exchange of prisoners." [passage omitted]

### Oakley Meets Aidid Representative

AB1110124893 Paris AFP in English 1227 GMT 11 Oct 93

[By Marie Joannidis]

[Excerpt] Mogadishu, Oct 11 (AFP)—U.S. special envoy to Somalia Robert Oakley met a representative of the clan of Mogadishu warlord Mohamed Farah Aidid Monday as he pursued efforts to reach a peace settlement with Aidid's faction. Oakley had talks with Ahmed Rage of Aidid's Habr Gedir clan, sources close to the negotiators said. They could not say when the U.S. envoy would meet an official of General Aidid's Somali National Alliance (SNA) who could speak for the faction leader.

Washington has ruled out direct talks with the fugitive Somali chief, wanted for attacks on UN peacekeeping troops, but U.S. President Bill Clinton sent Oakley back to Somalia last week to help seek a political solution after weeks of escalating warfare.

On Monday, the former U.S. ambassador to Somalia met Mario Scialoja, the current ambassador from Italy, which had strongly criticised the tough military line taken against Aidid by the United States and UN troops.

Mediators from Ethiopia and Eritrea also pursued talks with representatives of the SNA, the United States and the UN Operation in Somalia, UNOSOM-II, informed sources said, but they would give no details. "We have nothing to say to the press at this time," spokesmen for the UN embassy [as received] have said since Sunday.

UN Secretary General Butros Butros-Ghali plans to meet next week in Ethiopia with African and Arab leaders on a plan to keep Somalia from slipping back into anarchy after the withdrawal of U.S. troops, announced by Clinton for next March 31. "Unless we act now, the gangs will just be waiting to start fighting again when we have gone," the UN chief executive said of rival Somali clans whose battles caused widespread famine, in an interview with the NEW YORK TIMES published Monday.

Presidents Husni Mubarak of Egypt and Meles Zenawi of Ethiopia and the secretaries general of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Organization of the Islamic Conference were among those who will attend the meeting scheduled for October 20, the TIMES reported.

But a source close to the negotiators here on Monday said Egpytian Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa had been "premature" on Sunday in announcing that all Somali factions, including Aidid's, would meet in Addis Ababa that day.

The meeting, sponsored by the OAU, is intended to breath new life into a peace pact and political deal cut among rival Somali factions in the Ethiopian capital last March. But the peacekeeping and humanitarian activities of UNOSOM have been overshadowed since June by battles between U.S.-led forces and Aidid's militia, which have left more than 60 UN soldiers dead and scores wounded, while hundreds of Somalis have been killed and injured. [passage omitted]

### SNA 'Concerned' on Not Meeting Oakley

AB1110224093 Paris AFP in English 2208 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Excerpt] Mogadishu, Oct 11 (AFP)—The Somali National Alliance (SNA) led by fugitive warlord Mohamed Farah Aidid said Monday [11 October] it was concerned that U.S. special presidential envoy Robert Oakley had not met SNA officials to resolve the conflict in Somalia. "If the United States does not meet the SNA there is a serious problem," said SNA foreign affairs spokesman Isaa Mohamed Siad.

Washington has ruled out direct talks with the fugitive Somali chief, wanted for attacks on UN peacekeeping troops, but U.S. President Bill Clinton sent Oakley back to Somalia last week to help seek a political solution after weeks of escalating warfare.

Oakley held talks Monday with Ahmed Rage, a representative of Aidid's Habr Gedir clan, informed sources said. But he did not meet SNA officials. Oakely also met Mario Scialoja, the current ambassador from Italy, which has strongly criticised the tough military line taken against Aidid by the United States and UN troops.

Mediators from Ethiopia and Eritrea pursued talks with representatives of the SNA, the United States and the UN Operation in Somalia, UNOSOM II, the sources said, but they would give no details.

According to unconfirmed reports, Oakley was expected to leave Mogadishu shortly for Addis Ababa. The U.S. envoy's mission reflects a policy change on the part of Clinton's administration, which has come under strong domestic and foreign pressure both to cut U.S. losses and end the fighting.

The initiative followed a fierce gun battle between U.S. forces and Aidid's militia in Mogadishu on October 3 in which at least 15 U.S. troops were killed.

The UN special representative in Somalia, U.S. Admiral Jonathan Howe, said Monday that a unilateral ceasefire announced on Saturday by Aidid was still holding. "We find this a positive development. UNOSOM never initiated aggression against anybody's forces, but reacted to aggression against us," UNOSOM's civilian affairs spokesman Farouk Mawlawi quoted Howe as saying. [passage omitted]

### SNA Issues Statement on Cease-Fire

EA1110193793 (Clandestine) Radio Mogadishu Voice of the Great Somali People in Somali 1700 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] In order to implement the calls for a cease-fire by Mohamed Farah Aidid, the Somali National Alliance [SNA] and United Somali Congress [USC] chairman, and the U.S. Administration to rectify issues obstructing calm and to reestablish peace in Mogadishu [words indistinct] by a press statement released by SNA.

The statement includes the following points:

- 1. The repeated bombing raids by AC-130 aircraft are terrorizing Mogadishu city, creating terror, causing anxiety to many people, and making them unable to take the calls for peace seriously.
- 2. The conference, reported to be held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, on 20 October, should be postponed until hostilities are ended [words indistinct] prevalent in Mogadishu. It seems out of the question to embark on a new initiative without consulting the Somali people and their leaders.
- UN Operation in Somalia [UNOSOM] must stop its campaign of setting the Somali people against each other like the meetings [words indistinct] by using individuals with selfish interests.
- 4. All these demands are to ensure that the new efforts towards bringing peace in Mogadishu are not undermined.
- 5. All sections of the Somali communities are called on to be on their guard against such phenomena, which are capable of bringing about intrigue and political confusion, as has happened in the past.
- The call for peace announced by the SNA calls for caution against troublemakers in search of evil and creating evil, wanting SNA, U.S. forces, and UNOSOM to collide.

The SNA press statement concludes by congratulating the Somali people, particularly those in Mogadishu, on the positive way in which they expressed their joy over the prospects of peace and a cease-fire.

# Spokesman on American Prisoner's Status, Treatment

EA0810194693 (Clandestine) Radio Mogadishu Voice of the Great Somali People in Somali 1700 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Text] A statement issued today by the office of the Somali National Alliance [SNA] interior secretary, Abdi Hasan Awaleh, alias Abdi Qaybdid, reported that on 8 October, that organization allowed the ICRC and foreign and local journalists to see a U.S. soldier who the Somali public had handed over to the SNA. The soldier was captured during the fighting on 3 October—when the Americans committed aggression against Somalis.

The soldier, who was already injured when captured, has since been treated. His morale is very high.

The statement added that the SNA will adhere to the directives of the Islamic religion, Somali culture, and the regulations governing prisoners' human rights.

The statement added that the body of a dead American who was among those who died during the fighting had been handed over to an ICRC representative in Somalia. ICRC officials and journalists were present.

The statement, which came from the office of the SNA interior secretary, praised the Somali people for handing over the prisoner and the dead body to the SNA. He further appealed to the general public that, if they are holding such people—dead or alive—hand them over to the SNA.

# Aidid Group Guarantees Human Rights of American Captives

BK0910073193 Melbourne Radio Australia in English 0500 GMT 9 Oct 93

[Text] The faction of the fugitive Somalian warlord, General Aidid, says it is ready to take part in peace talks. The Somali National Alliance said it was ready for any peaceful programs such as the Addis Ababa Accord, in which the leaders of all the Somali factions agreed on the reconstruction and reconciliation of the Somali people. Fifteen Somalian factions meeting in the Ethiopian capital agreed in March to form a transitional council to rebuild the country, but the plan stalled and its promise of disarmament became the flash point for fighting between United Nations peacekeepen and Aidid militiamen in south Mogadishu.

The faction vowed to respect the human rights of American troops it has captured, but said it disapproved of the American decision to deploy fresh troops in Somalia. The statement coincided with the arrival of the first of the American reinforcement at Mogadishu Airport, which was followed by an outbreak of fighting.

# Aidid Spokesman: Residents 'Terrorised' by Air Excercise

AB1010203093 Paris AFP in English 2020 GMT 10 Oct 93

[Text] Mogadishu, Oct 10 (AFP)—Mogadishu residents are being terrorised by a exercise involving U.S. combat aircraft that has forced patients in a maternity hospital to flee, a supporter of Mohamed Farah Aidid said Sunday [10 October].

Burhan Gutale, who occasionally acts as a spokesman for the Somali rebel leader, told journalists that during the exercise jets had fired close to a maternity hospital near Aidid's stronghold in northern Mogadishu.

"People left the hospital but others were too frightened to go out in the dark," Gutale said. "The planes are firing two kilometres from the main road and they call that an exercise."

Gutale said his wife, who is nine months pregnant, was in the SOS Hospital, which is run by Italians and Austrians.

A UN spokesman said after the planes first began firing Friday night that it was just an exercise and the jets [as received] were firing into an empty field. But he acknowledged that it was "a show of force" against the fugitive Somali warlord.

Aidid called Saturday for a ceasefire between his forces and UN troops and the United States stepped up efforts to find a solution to the problem.

# Aidid Supporters Deny UNOSOM Claim on District Councils

EA0810212193 (Clandestine) Radio Mogadishu Voice of the Great Somali People in Somali 1700 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Text] Religious leaders, sultans and leaders of various sectors of society in Cadaado, in the Galguduud region, have issued a statement. In the statement they strongly deny those reports issued on 4 October in which UNO-SOM-II [UN Operation in Somalia-II] claims that district councils were formed in their areas. The statement said that a UNOSOM-II report claimed that the people of the Cadaado area, and the Galguduud and Mudug regions, led by the United Somali Congress [USC], had formed regional and district councils. The religious leaders, sultans and other members of society have been greatly angered by such reports. The statement said that they will not accept such cheap publicity, adding that the people in those areas are the backbone of the USC.

The religious leaders and others described the report as baseless lies, aimed at creating friction and confrontation among USC supporters, and also shaming the people of Cadaado in the eyes of right-thinking Somalis. The religious leaders of Cadaado aid that the continuing struggle was started by the people of Cadaado against

dictator Mohamed Siad Barre, and that they are prepared today to spearhead the jihad against the infidels.

The religious leaders and sultans also said in their statement that the history of the Somali people will put the few bootlickers and greedy individuals who are following the handouts of infidels and their surrogates in their place. That statement said: We shall continue to uphold respect, dignity and the Islamic creed against infidels, and we will fully support the Somali National Alliance headed by Mohamed Farah Aidid.

Tehran Paper Interviews Aidid on UN Arrest Order NC0910104793 Tehran RESALAT in Persian 2 Oct 93 p 3

[Interview with General Farah Aidid, leader of the Somali National Alliance, by an unidentified AFRICA EVENTS magazine correspondent in "the center of Mogadishu"; date not given—first two grafs newspaper introduction]

[Text] In May, the United Nations sent its troops to Somalia, which can perhaps be considered the greatest interventionist operation by that organization. The peaceful (!) UN operations, however, have metamorphosed into a disaster. The so-called humanitarian operations have degenerated into a bloody war. In June alone, more than 150 Somalis were killed in UN attacks and 35 "blue berets" were killed, which represents the highest number of casualties ever sustained by that organization.

The United Nations blames all its sins on General Farah Aidid! In an unprecedented order it has also issued instructions for the arrest of Aidid, who is the leader of the largest Somalian movement, the Somali National Alliance. Following the storming of his residence by UN soldiers on 17 June, the 59-year-old Aidid began his life in hiding. In this interview, which took place in the center of Mogadishu, for the first time Aidid has elaborated on the incidents pertaining to his clash with the United Nations:

[RESALAT] What is your reaction regarding the UN version of these events?

[Aidid] I do not accept the UN explanations regarding the 15 June events, which began with the UN forces' attack on Radio Mogadishu. The people of Mogadishu then staged demonstrations protesting the attack. The UN forces were dispatched to all the areas and they fired on innocent and defenseless people who were merely expressing their sentiments. The people clashed with the UN forces and American soldiers and a large number of them were killed. In any case, the people were able to take back Radio Mogadishu. There was no attack on our part; the people had launched this attack. The claim that we attacked them is baseless and the report by the UN force commander to the Security Council is completely groundless and misleading.

The Security Council made its decisions on the basis of this report, which was a rather hasty step. I have reiterated that the United Nations should only take such measures when it has carried out independent and impartial investigations. It should only decide on the basis of facts.

[RESALAT] The United Nations has issued orders for your arrest. What is your opinion?

[Aidid] The issuing of such an order for my arrest is illegal. I have not committed any crimes. The aggressive actions of the United Nations and Americans have resulted in the killing of a large number of people and they have sustained immense losses. The criminals are those who have issued instructions for the killing of the Somali people and for destroying their property.

[RESALAT] What is your opinion of the accusations that your people are responsible for killing the UN soldiers?

[Aidid] The fighting began when the UN and U.S. forces fired on the protesters and the people reacted. None of our forces resorted to firing, as I do not have any forces. The Somali National Alliance has been disarmed and we do not have any armed units. The United Nations is well aware of that. We are tired of the repeated remarks of the UN officials in New York and the U.S. ambassador in Mogadishu who keep saying that we initiated a war and have killed UN soldiers. These allegations are completely groundless. The UN and U.S. forces initiated the war and they bombed the private and government buildings and killed a large number of people. Even a hospital in Mogadishu was attacked and bombed by a helicopter.

[RESALAT] If you are truly innocent, why do you not come out of your hideout and confront the UNOSOM (the UN Operation in Somalia) outright?

[Aidid] I do not trust those who have attacked the people of Mogadishu, killed them, destroyed their property, and are proclaiming that General Aidid and his forces have initiated the war and the massacres. The United Nations is not neutral. Only when an impartial and independent delegation comes to Somalia on a factfinding mission and informs the people of the world of the actual situation will I be able to trust them.

[RESALAT] The United Nations states that the buildings which were attacked were secret arms and ammunition dumps.

[Aidid] There were no arms or ammunition in the bombed premises; what has been destroyed was only agricultural machinery, spare parts, a cigarette and match factory, private houses such as mine and that of Osman Ato.

The only service the UNOSOM and Americans can provide is to assist us in our quest for national reconciliation and peace. What they are actually doing is trying to annihilate the leaders of the various movements and those who love their country. They wish to establish a

judiciary in Somalia and they have a very unpleasant attitude toward the Somali people. They are tormenting and torturing the Somali people and arresting and killing them. At present hundreds of Somalis are in UN prisons.

They do not have the right to set up a judiciary in our country. The role of the United Nations should be to assist the Somali people and not to impose on them what they do not want. Such measures are not to the benefit of the Somali people.

[RESALAT] You are living in Mogadishu at present. Do you not intend to leave the capital?

[Aidid] No. I will remain with the people in Mogadishu to help them. I wish to live alongside them and to share their tribulations and sorrows. I hope that we will be successful in attaining our objectives and in opposing the imperialistic actions against our people and country.

[RESALAT] The United Nations is after you. What will you do?

[Aidid] I live here in my city along with my people. God and the people will support me. Therefore, I do not have any fear or qualms regarding their pursuit of me.

[RESALAT] In case they find you, then what will happen?

[Aidid] I believe that the people will defend me, as the efforts to arrest me are illegal. They know what has happened. The Somali people are well aware of the unjust actions of the UN forces.

[RESALAT] Are you not apprehensive of their success?

[Aidid] I do not think that they will be successful. You know that my wishes are the same as those of my nation. If you cast a glance at history, you will realize that no one can deter the will of a nation. No one could thwart the path of the nations that struggled for freedom, justice, peace and development; and they succeeded. This is my belief.

# Aidid Supporters Demonstrate for Peace in Mogadishu

AB1010095593 Paris AFP in English 0926 GMT 10 Oct 93

[Text] Mogadishu, Oct 10 (AFP)—Some 2,000 supporters of Mohamed Farah Aidid demonstrated for peace early Sunday [10 October] in the capital Mogadishu, the day after the fugitive Somali warlord called for a ceasefire in his militia's attacks on UN forces.

"We need peace not war," chanted the demonstrators, who included many women and children. "We agree with the peaceful statements of Bill Clinton and Les Aspin," they shouted, refering to the U.S. president and his defence secretary.

Pro-Aidid demonstrations have become a regular affair on Thursdays and Sundays since the United Nations put a price on Aidid's head, after his Somali National Alliance (SNA) was blamed for the June killings of 23 Pakistani UN troops.

Flanked by SNA marshals, Sunday's demonstration was larger than usual and followed a quiet night in the capital, with Somali militia and UN forces apparently observing a tacit ceasefire.

Few helicopters flew over the Somali capital during the night, UN military sources saying the choppers had to be protected after last Sunday's bloody fighting in which two U.S. Blackhawk helicopters were shot down by militiamen, and three others seriously damaged.

Reinforcements ordered by Clinton started arriving in Somalia last week to boost the U.S. presence there as Washington administration attempted to start a political process which would enable it to withdraw its forces without losing face.

# Demonstrators Support UNOSOM, 'Week of Peace' Congress

EA1010123593 Mogadishu Voice of the Somali Republic in Somali 1700 GMT 9 Oct 93

[Text] Reports from various regions of the Republic of Somalia say peaceful demonstrations supporting the recent Week of Peace Congress have been staged in full support for the resolutions of the Week of Peace Congress held in Mogadishu by representatives of 12 political factions of the Somali communities in the country. The latest demonstrations in support of the Mogadishu congress were held in Boorama, Saylac, Lughaye, [word indistinct], Cabdulqaadir, (Beesha Jila) and Gorayacowl Districts. The reports add that similar demonstrations have also been held in Laas Canood and Qaran districts and villages. The demonstrations were held to show the Somali peoples' support for UN Operation in Somalia activities in the country and especially the task of establishing peace in the country, reconstruction and the formation of an interim national assembly.

### Ali Mahdi, Officials Discuss UN, U.S. Policies

EA1110205093 Mogadishu Voice of the Somali Republic in Somali 1700 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Excerpts] Ali Mahdi Mohamed, the president of the Republic of Somalia, has received in his office Kofi Annan, UN deputy secretary general for peacekeeping; Ambassador Lansana Kouyate, the UN secretary general's deputy special envoy; and senior UN Operation in Somalia [UNOSOM] officials. To begin with, the president said he was pleased with Annan's visit and registered satisfaction over the United Nations' various activities in Somalia. The president told the deputy secretary general that 98 percent of the Somali people supported the United Nations' work in Somalia and welcomed the implementation of the Addis Ababa Accord, whose resolutions included the total disarmament of the militia in the country. [passage omitted]

President Mahdi explained the peace conferences recently held in Mogadishu by the Somali communities and organizations in the country to settle misunderstandings among the people, saying these had been successful and achieved a great deal. The president said [words indistinct] to soon hold another a major peace conference to last three days to find permanent solutions to the problems among the participating communities. President Ali Mahdi Mohamed confirmed that most of the Somali people wanted the implementation of the Addis Ababa agreement of March 1993 and of the UN Security Council resolutions, particularly Nos. 837 and 814, which could bring about total stability in the country and the formation of a national government.

Referring to reported national reconciliation conferences, the president said these should be preceded by the implementation of the resolutions of the Addis Ababa conference by all the political organizations. Then, if there was need for another conference, it should be held inside the country, and in Mogadishu in particular. [passage omitted]

Kofi Annan, the UN deputy secretary general for peacekeeping, thanked the president for his welcome and praised him for his constant support for UN operations in the country. Annan stressed that there would be no change in the application of UN Security Council Resolution No. 837 on searching out those behind the killings of 24 Pakistanis on 5 June 1993.

Annan clarified that the policies of the United Nations and the United States were one and the same. He said the immediate formation of the provisional national council was essential, as it would enable the Somali people to reconstruct their country and direct their international relations. He noted that it was important for the world to see a restored Somali leadership. In conclusion, Kofi Annan said he was pleased with the way recent meetings had been organized. He congratulated the community leaders and those of the 12 political organizations on their success and encouraged them to persevere in their efforts to unite the Somali people. [passage omitted]

At the end of the function, a document signed by the representatives of the 12 organizations and addressed to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali was handed to Kofi Annan.

# More Reaction to SADF Raid on Suspected APLA Safe House

### Defense Minister Holds News Conference

MB0810164993 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1546 GMT 08 Oct 93

[Text] Pretoria Oct 8 SAPA—Minister of Defence Kobie Coetsee and his generals came under fire at a news conference in Pretoria on Friday over the ages of those killed in an early-morning raid by the South African Defence Force [SADF] on an Umtata, Transkei, home. Reports said those killed ranged in age from 12 to 19 years.

Army Chief Gen Georg Meiring said the five shot dead appeared to be adults, and the SADF strike force of nine did not wait to find out their ages, he said.

Mr Coetsee said President F W de Klerk and senior ministers on Thursday authorised the "limited strike" against the "verified APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army] facility." It was taken against the background of a Goldstone Commission report earlier this year that APLA used Transkei as a springboard for attacks into South Africa; that APLA members were being trained in Transkei; and that its internal high command for South Africa was based there.

Mr Coetsee said the occupants of the house appeared to be adult to the raiders, and he had to accept this information. He could not accept the claims that those killed were children because he had to be guided by the debriefing of the troops.

The strike had been justified, compared to APLA's attacks, because APLA had announced it would continue its armed struggle.

Gen Meiring said the occupants were shot because they brandished weapons when the SADF team entered the 47 Northcrest, Umtata, house. As far as was known no shots were fired at the SADF group, however.

He added that the attack was carried out in good faith in the middle of the night. It was not possible for the SADF to ascertain the ages of those killed because the SADF did not remain in Transkei on Friday, he said when repeatedly quizzed on SADF ignorance on the subject of the ages of the dead.

A small quantity of weapons was found in the house, including AK47 and R1 rifles, as well as pistols, homemade weapons and documents which were brought back to South Africa. The police's information was that a large quantity of weapons was stockpiled at the house.

Asked how the raid influenced the political situation and the atmosphere for talks between the government and the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress], Mr Coetsee said the raid was in the best interests of South Africa's citizens. It was unacceptable that APLA continued to kill people while the PAC participated in negotiations which was effect protected APLA.

There had been an arms build-up in the house which, if allowed to continue, may have led to the further loss of life in South Africa, Mr Coetsee said.

Returning finally to the question of the age of the raid victims, Mr Coetsee said: "We deplore the loss of lives. If anyone had been killed, young or old, it is regretted and deplored. We live in times when we have to take measures to prevent the further loss of lives."

SADF chief Gen Kat Liebenberg said the intention was to capture some of the inhabitants of the house and to bring them to South Africa to avoid the situation in which the South African authorities now found themselves. Such prisoners could have been shown at the news conference.

Asked what effect the strike had on APLA's operational capability, he said: "APLA is not wiped out. They are spread all over the country."

He could not accept reports that all five had been shot in the head. A detailed debriefing of the raiders would take a few days. About 12 operatives participated in the manoeuvre but only nine were involved near the house.

Mr Coetsee said the government would continue to take whatever action necessary to protect the lives and property of its citizens. "The South African Government authorised this strike with reluctance and after it had carefully considered all the broader implications," he said. The ultimate cause of the attack was APLA's continuing intensification of its futile, unnecessary and callous campaign of murder and destruction. "The South African Government calls once again on all parties to abandon violence and to join the peaceful search for negotiated solutions."

Foreign Minister Pik Botha confirmed he was told that Transkei military ruler Bantu Holomisa tried to telephone him on Friday, but he was not at his office to take the call. His staff supplied a number where he could be reached but he was not called there.

### 3 APLA 'Terrorists' Among Dead

MB0910122293 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1159 GMT 9 Oct 93

[By Erna van Wyk]

[Text] Pretoria Oct 9 SAPA—Three of the five people killed in Friday's early morning raid in Umtata, Transkei, were trained Azanian People's Liberation Army [APLA] terrorists, while the two others were suspected of being APLA collaborators, Deputy Law and Order Minister Gert Myburgh said on Saturday. In a statement, Mr Myburgh rejected as "completely false" the ages given for those killed in the attack, adding that the Pan Africanist Congress [PAC] and APLA were deliberately abusing juveniles for terrorist purposes.

He said photographs of three of the five dead people had been positively identified as APLA members by other APLA members currently in the custody of the SA police.

They had also been identified as having undergone military training at APLA facilities inside the Transkei, said Mr Myburgh.

This emerged after photographic evidence collected on the scene by the SA Defence Force was handed to the police for investigations.

At a press conference in Pretoria, photos were released of weapons seized in the raid. The weapons included three AK-47 rifles, one R1 rifle, one 9-mm P38 pistol and a Walther 7.65 pistol. Ammunition was also found. Forensic tests are currently being conducted on the weapons by the SA police.

### **APLA Spokesman Hints at Retaliation**

MB0910/92793 Johannesburg SATURDAY STAR in English 9 Oct 93 pp 1, 2

[By Deputy Editor Ken Vernon]

[Text] Umtata—APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army], armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress [PAC], has hinted strongly that it will take retaliatory action after the killing of five black youths by SADF [South African Defense Force] commandos in Umtata yesterday.

"We won't take this lying down. We'll respond in a manner which will be fell by the enemy," APLA spokesman Dr. Peter Mayende said yesterday.

Speaking outside the home in which the youths were killed, Mayende said the SADF attack meant that proposed talks with South Africa's Government had been cancelled. "War is under way in South Africa," he said.

Army units and police have been mobilised to patrol Transkei's major roads, white resorts, and homes in Umtata in expectation of retaliatory attacks.

Mayence denied that the youths—all between the ages of 12 and 19—were in any way connected to APLA. He acknowledged that they were members of PAC student organisation, PASO [Pan-Africanist Students Organization].

He also denied that any weapons or PAC documents had been taken from the house, as the SADF had suggested. "The boys were studying for exams.

"All that the killers took away with them was school books," he said.

Mayende alleged that APLA had "conclusive evidence" that the attack had been co-ordinated by the South African embassy in Umtata. He said vehicles used by the attackers had come from the embassy.

Late yesterday South African ambassador Horace van Rensburg presented his "apologies" and said he was unavailable to speak to reporters about the allegations.

The father of three of the boys, Sigqibo Mpendulo, who found their bodies, said he had no doubt that the raid had been intended to kill him. "They had been looking for me for some time," said the veteran PAC activist, an executive member of the PAC in Transkei and a former Robben Island prisoner.

The PAC said the five youths had been shot where they slept in the suburban Umtata bungalow. Their bodies were riddled with bullets.

However, military intelligence sources in Umtata said it appeared the youths had been taken to the lounge before being killed. The sources said two of the youths had been shot in the chest before all five were shot execution-style in the back of the head.

### **Embassy in Umtata Denies Involvement**

MB0910140393 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1231 GMT 09 Oct 93

[Text] Umtata Oct 9 SAPA—The South African Embassy in Transkei on Salarday categorically denied that it had been involved in Friday morning's raid on a house in Umtata which claimed the lives of five people.

The embassy said in a statement: "These allegations are totally untrue. The embassy was not involved in this raid in any way whatsoever, nor did it have any prior knowledge of the raid."

The statement denied allegations that a helicopter landed at the embassy with members of the raiding party, and that a light delivery vehicle transported the raiding party from the embassy to the purported Azanian People's Liberation Army house and back to the embassy.

Also denied in the statement by the embassy were allegations that members of the raiding party were housed at the embassy from where they would be withdrawn. "It should be obvious to all concerned that no country would use its embassy for offensive military purposes, since this would constitute a contravention of international law and the provision of the Vienna Convention. It would also be irresponsible in that it would put the embassy and its staff in grave jeopardy."

### ANC's Mandela Condemns Raid

MB0810123693 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1215 GMT 8 Oc. 93

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Brussels Oct 8 SAPA—African National Congress [ANC] President Nelson Mandela on Friday morning condemned in the strongest terms the SADF [South African Defense Force] raid on a house in the Transkei in which five teenagers were killed, describing it as "an act of thuggery". He said the peace process would,

however, not be derailed by such acts. He expected similar incidents in the future.

In his response, Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa, who is accompanying Mr Mandela on his European tour, supported the ANC leader's comments, adding he would speak to sa Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha at 2.30pm sa time.

"We condemn that (SADF raid) in the strongest terms," Mr Mandela told an impromptu press conference in the Belgian capital after a meeting with European Commission President Jacques Delors.

"There is no excuse whatsoever to kill innocent people, even assuming they were members of APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army]," he said.

The ANC leader, who is on a four-nation European tour, was reacting to the raid by the SADF on a house in Transkei claimed to be an APLA haven.

The PAC has, however, said five innocent teenagers were killed.

"The SADF has no right to kill people," Mr Mandela said.

"If they wanted these people to be brought to book, there are legal means of doing so. This is an act of thuggery and pure terrorism which we strongly condemn," Mr Mandela said. The ANC was determined to proceed with negotiations, "and we cannot be diverted from that course by incidents of this nature".

"We will have incidents of this nature under a government which is illegitimate and discredited and inept, where you have the leaders of a political party who are not decisive and who want to be all things to all men," he added. However, the ANC was determined that when "a.mocratic forces" were in power, "we will use the strongest means to put an end to issues of this nature", Mr Mar.Jela said.

### ANC on Clarifying 'Aspects'

MB0810152093 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1458 GMT 08 Oct 93

[Text] Johannesburg Oct 8 SAPA—The African National Congress [ANC] on Friday strongly condemned the SA Defence Force [SADF] raid on a house in Umtata, Transkei, and called on the South African Government to account for the attack. "The wanton killing of two 12-year-old children, 16-year-old twins and a 19-year-old youth in a pre-dawn commando-style raid is an outrage," the ANC said in a statement.

The organisation said the government needed to clarify certain aspects. These were:

- -"Where was the decision to raid taken and by whom?
- —"Why was no publicity given to the plans alluded to instead?

- —"Why were no discussions held with negotiating partners, namely the Transkei Government and the Pan Africanist Congress [PAC]?
- —"SA recognises Transkei as an independent state; is this the value that they continue to place on territorial sovereignty?; and,
- -- "Why are recent actions against 'bantustan administrations' directed at those who are against the NP [National Party]?

"Clearly, the NP government has not yet liberated themselves from their old "kragdadige" [show of force] approach of trying to solve problems through force of arms instead of negotiations."

The ANC said the SADF's justification of the raid, that information gained from people in custody indicated APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Armyl cadres had used the house for planning attacks on South African civilians could not "be accepted at face value".

"The ANC believes that the NP government has acted contrary to the spirit of negotiations, and should accept full responsibility for the consequences of this ill-conceived raid.

"We urge the government to enter into negotiations with the Transkei Government and the PAC. Such negotiations should be conducted in good faith and without any threats of resorting to force," the statement concluded.

### **PAC Threatens Talks Withdrawal**

MB0910173493 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1553 GMT 09 Oct 93

[By Adrienne Carlisle]

[Text] Johannesburg Oct 9 SAPA—The Pan Africanist Congress [PAC] is to embark on a programme of mass action in response to the South African Defence Force's [SADF] cross-border raid into Transkei, and has warned its future participation in negotiations will depend on the Negotiating Council's response to the attack, which resulted in the death of five youths.

PAC Secretary-General Benny Alexander told SAPA from Mmabatho all regions and branches of the organisation would "mobilise the masses" through mass action. He said the PAC had written a letter requesting that the negotiating council hold a special session to discuss the matter. "Our further participation in negotiations at Kempton Park or our decision to take other action will depend on the manner in which the negotiating council handles the situation on Tuesday," said Mr Alexander.

He also slammed Deputy Law and Order Minister Gerty Myburgh's "wrangling" over the ages of the victims of Friday's cross-border raid. "It is a sign of the bazakap [authoritarian] mentality of the government that after admitting to having hilled children they now juggle

around the issue of ages, rather than apologise and compensate the bereaved family."

Mr Myburgh earlier rejected as "completely false" reports that twins aged 12 were killed during the raid on what the government had described as an Azanian People's Liberation Army safehouse. He claimed that the twin sons of PAC member Sicelo Mpendulo were 19 years old. Indications, according to the deputy minister, were that a third "trained terrorist" killed in Umtata may have been 17 years old. Investigations into the age and status of the remaining two victims were continuing, said the deputy minister.

Mr Alexander described the wrangling about the ages of the victims as a "callous response to a sensitive and human drama. We in the PAC stand by the information given to us by the father of these children," he said.

### PAC: Raid Will Not Derail Talks

MB1110133993 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 11 Oct 93 pp 1,2

[By Wilson Zwane and Marianne Merten]

[Text] Last week's SADF [South African Defence Force] attack on an alleged APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army] base in Umtata in which five youths were killed would not derail a planned bilateral meeting between the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] and government later this month, a senior PAC official said yesterday. He said the raid had made it imperative for the two parties to discuss a mutual cessation of hostilities. The attack would, however, change the complexion of the talks and hamper progress.

The official, who asked not to be named, said the raid made a mockery of government's insistence that it would not discuss the cessation of hostilities with the PAC because it was not at war with anyone.

Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said yesterday he did not see how the SADF action could derail the meeting. Government had no doubt that the house raided was an APLA base as it had been under surveillance for days.

"If the people who were killed were not APLA members, then we believe that APLA is using human shields at its facilities," he said. He criticised APLA for using juveniles in its "terrorist" operations.

SA's Department of Foreign Affairs yesterday issued a warning to South Africans not to travel in the homeland by road, reports Stephane Bothma. This follows a statement by APLA chief information officer Johannesburg Majozi at the weekend that the raid was seen as a declaration of war.

The Foreign Affairs statement said South Africans who had to enter the Transkei should try to organise a convoy, ensure their vehicles were in good running order and travel in daylight.

The PAC, meanwhile, has called for a special session of the negotiating council in Kempton Park to discuss the raid in the hope that Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee will be called to account. The PAC warned at the weekend that its continued participation in the multiparty talks depended on how the issue was resolved by the negotiating council.

Transkei mobilised its defence force and SA security forces said they were prepared for "any eventuality" after threats of revenge attacks for the raid.

Transkei Defence Force commander Temba Matanzinia confirmed yesterday that additional Transkei Defence Force (TDF) troops had been deployed in and around Umtata, but would not say how many were involved.

Sources said at the weekend SADF troop activity on the SA side of the Transkei border area had increased to prevent revenge attacks, but an SA Army spokesman said yesterday he had no knowledge of this.

Regarding the dispute over the ages of those killed, Matanzima said he knew two were 12 years old and two were 16, but could not comment on the fifth victim.

Deputy Law and Order Minister Gert Myburgh has claimed three of the victims were positively identified as APLA guerrillas by other APLA members in custody. He said investigations into the age and status of the other victims were continuing. Matanzima said the future integration of the TDF and SA defence forces had been put in doubt by the raid. The question of alleged APLA safe houses in the Transkei should have been dealt with through diplomatic channels, he said.

Transkei protested against the raid in a diplomatic note on Friday. Foreign Affairs spokesman Awie Marais yesterday said SA would reply "in due course".

The raid has been condemned by a wide range of organisations, including the ANC [African National Congress].

### **PAC Denies APLA Used Raided House**

MB0810122893 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1130 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Text] Johannesburg Oct 8 SAPA—The Pan Africanist Congress [PAC] on Friday categorically denied the Umtata, Transkei, house raided by SA Defence Force [SADF] troops earlier in the morning had been a haven for cadres of its military wing, the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army [APLA].

At a Johannesburg press conference, PAC Deputy President Johnson Mlambo confirmed the house belonged to a PAC member, Mr Sicelo Mpendulo. He said three of Mr Mpendulo's children, 16-year-old twins Sadat and Samora, and their 12-year-old brother, Mziwandile, were killed along with their two cousins, 19-year-old Tando and Sxeshe, aged 12.

The children had been shot in the head by SADF soldiers using Uzi sub-machine guns fixed with silencers, Mr Mlambo claimed.

He said the inside of the house had been completely wrecked and spent 9mm cartridges were also littered about.

The children, who would have returned to school on Friday, had offered no resistance, he said, as they were found in their beds.

There were no PAC or APLA files in the house, Mr Mlambo said.

Mr Mlambo said the PAC noted that the attack came just before the scheduled October 28 meeting between representatives of APLA, the SADF and the SA Police concerning a mutual cessation of hostilities.

He said although the PAC would review the situation following the raid: "No firm decision has been taken (about the meeting)".

"We are in consultation with APLA," he added.

Mr Mlambo said the PAC is "legitimately asking who ordered the massacre of schoolchildren, who controls the SADF and who will bring the perpetrators of this evil deed to account for their crimes".

"The PAC holds the (government) fully responsible and accountable...(and) reiterates its principled position that the SADF must be confined to barracks under international supervision during the transition to democracy."

Responding to questions about the motive for the raid, Mr Mlambo said while APLA has repeatedly stated it had no bases Transkei, "the regime has tried to implicate APLA of being based in Transkei".

He stressed the PAC was open to discussion about a mutual cessation of hostilities.

"Why are they shooting at the talks?," asked Mr Mlambo.

PAC Foreign Affairs Secretary Gora Ebrahim, who was also present at the press conference with PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemadzivhanani, said the SA Government's top leadership had to take responsibility for the raid.

"I cannot see how an attack against a 'neighbouring' country can take place without consultation at the highest level."

Mr Ebrahim dismissed SADF claims that resistance had been offered to the raid, saying the children had been killed in their beds and that their bodies were only found some hours after the raid.

"Had they resisted, shots would have been heard."

Mr Mlambo said the PAC will announce its position regarding multi-party negotiations at a later stage,

adding the organisation has not yet called for a special session at the World Trade Centre talks venue to discuss the raid.

### Raid Aimed 'To Destabilise' Transkei

MB0810144393 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1215 GMT 08 Oct 93

[Text] Umtata Oct 8 SAPA—Friday's SADF [South African Defense Force] raid in Umtata was designed to destabilise Transkei, the territory's military government said in its first official reaction. The Transkei Military Council said on Friday it was shocked and dismayed by the attack and that an "appropriate protest note" would be sent to Pretoria. "This action on the part of the SADF is contrary to the spirit and letter of the non-aggression pact concluded between the governments of the two countries. It (the raid) was designed to spark off unrest and confusion within Transkei."

The statement said Council Chairman Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa was overseas, but had been given all the details of the incident. "He has already made contact with a number of leading figures in the South African political scene." Gen Holomisa had called on Transkeians to remain calm.

The SA Defence Force earlier reported five people were killed before dawn on Friday when it raided an alleged Azanian Peoples Organisation base in Umtata. The victims had resisted the raid, it said. Transkei police, however, said the five victims were children and that the alleged base was merely a Pan Africanist Congress member's home.

The Transkei Military Council said the timing of the raid was significant in that it took place when homelands "sympathetic to the cause of the liberation of the struggling and disenfranchised people of our country" were being harassed by the South African Government. It also came at a time when negotiations were taking place on the future of private armies. "One wonders, therefore, whether the SA Defence Force has not once more seized the initiative on the political issues from the SA Government as they have done in the past," said the council. "Such incidents can never be tolerated and appropriate steps will be taken to ensure they do not occur."

### Transkei's Holomisa Blames De Klerk

MB0810160693 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1536 GMT 08 Oct 93

[Excerpts] Johannesburg Oct 8 SAPA—Five people were killed in a dawn raid by the South African Defence Force [SADF] in Umtata, the Transkei homeland capital, on Friday. [passage omitted]

Transkei military leader General Bantu Holomisa reacted angrily, accusing President F W de Klerk of having authorised the attack. "I put the blame squarely on the doorstep of President de Klerk who has decided not to follow the diplomatic channels if he wanted to

arrest people," Gen Holomisa said in an exclusive interview with SAPA in Brussels.

Gen Holomisa is accompanying African National Congress President Nelson Mandela on a four-nation European tour.

"President De Klerk, as the chairman of the State Security Council, has authorised this raid to Transkei," he claimed, calling for an immediate end to such "barbaric" acts. "It is clear to me he wants to drive everybody away from the World Trade Centre (venue of the multiparty talks in Kempton Park)," Gen Holomisa added. He claimed the South African Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party had already adversely affected progress towards a multiracial democracy. "He (Mr de Klerk) is now hell-bent on driving the Pan Africanist Congress from the talks," Gen Holomisa said. He predicted Mr De Klerk would go to Mr Mandela and say: "Because of this we cannot go ahead (with the talks process); let us postpone everything and concentrate on bringing all those people back to the negotiations."

Gen Holomisa called on the "liberation movement" to take "appropriate action which would make President de Klerk realise that should he try this again he will burn his fingers". Gen Holomisa accused Mr De Klerk of having, through the SADF raid, shown his "true colours".

"After all, he belonged to the same cabal which was under the leadership of (former state President) P W Botha which took decisions to kill people such as (political activist Mathew) Goniwe and to destabilise black communities," Gen Holomisa said. [passage omitted]

APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army] information officer Johnny Majozi, speaking from the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] armed wing's headquarters in Tanzania, said the house [raided in Umtata] was not an APLA hide-out. "APLA has never used the house in question, and the people involved were not APLA members, he said. [passage omitted]

### Transkei Official Urges Murder Charge

MB0910123993 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1100 GMT 9 Oct 93

[Text] The acting chairman of the Transkei Military Council, Brigadier Rodney Kheswa, says members of the the South African Defense Force involved in yesterday's attack on an alleged APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army] base in Umtata should be charged with murder. Five people—four children between 12 and 16 years of age and a 19-year-old youth—were killed in the attack.

A spokesman for the South African Embassy in Transkei has meanwhile denied that the defense force members responsible for the attack were hiding in the embassy building.

Defense Minister Kobie Cetzsee said yesterday that he regretted the loss of life. However, he said, the people in the house at the time of the attack had appeared to be

adults and shots were fired at them because they were armed and resisted the defense force operation. He said the defense force had had reliable information that the residents were either APLA terrorists or were being trained as such. A small quantity of arms and documents were seized during the raid.

### Envoy to Transkei on 'Threatening' Letter

MB1210064293 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 0500 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] The South African ambassador to Transkei says that, although a threatening letter to whites after the attack on a house in Umtata is apparently false, it is still being viewed in a serious light. The Pan-Africanist Students' Organization described the letter as a malicious joke. The regional secretary of the organization, Mr. (Singisi Ncabile), said his signature on the letter with the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] letterhead had been forged. The letter urged whites to leave Transkei until after the funeral of the five people killed in the raid.

### **Azapo Condemns SADF's Actions**

MB1010200393 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1854 GMT 10 Oct 93

[Text] Johannesburg Oct 10 SAPA—The Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo) has joined the chorus of anger against the SA Defence Force [SADF] raid on an Umtata house last week.

Five people were killed when SADF members blitzed a house in Umtata's northcrest suburb last Friday. The Army claimed the house was the PAC's [Pan-Africanist Congress] Azanian Peoples Liberation Army facility.

In a statement, Azapo President Professor Itumeleng Mosala charged the "callous murder of the children of a PAC comrade... constitutes the continuation of war by white people against black people, which has been intensified since the false and deceitful declaration of reform by (President F W) de Klerk in 1990". Azapo charged the negotiations process was a smokescreen to cause black people to lower their guard and "open themselves to attack by white people, who desire to maintain their privileges and colonial oppression of black people". Prof Mosala concluded by extending his organisation's sympathies to the families of those killed.

### DP Seeks International Investigation

MB1110173393 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1500 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] The Democratic Party [DP] has called for international observers to investigate the controversial Defense Force raid on a house in Umtata which was allegedly being used as an APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army] safe house.

The DP spokesman on defense, Lieutenant General Bob Rogers, said the observers had to be given the opportunity to study the evidence and the bodies. Gen. Rogers said the Defense Force had apparently acted on false information. He called on the government and APLA to go ahead with their planned talks on the 28th of this month on the ending of the armed struggle.

Meanwhile, a letter protesting against the raid, signed by 200 members of the foreign community in Transkei, has been handed over to the South African ambassador in Umtata.

### **UN Observers Mission Reacts**

MB0910174593 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1617 GMT 09 Oct 93

[Text] Johannesburg Oct 9 SAPA—The United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa [UNOMSA] on Saturday condemned "in the strongest possible terms" the South African Defence Force raid in Transkei early on Friday morning. "What makes this act more horrifying is that it was authorised by the highest levels of government," UNOMSA said in a joint statement with international observer missions of the Organisation for African Unity and the Commonwealth. "It is all the more ironic that this brutal act should happen the day before sanctions were lifted by the 184 member states of the United Nations General Assembly, thus indicating its readiness to accept South Africa's re-entry into the family of nations." The observers called on all political groups not to allow "this destabilising incident" to derail the negotiation process leading to the holding of elections and the establishment on a lasting basis of a stable and integrated South African society.

### 'Killing Spree' Stains De Klerk Record

MB1010093293 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 10 Oct 93 p 18

[Editorial: "Faltering NP Shows Its True Colours"]

[Text] Like some restless Frankenstein monster, the old National Party [NP]—the party of P.W. Botha, and cold-hearted Jimmy Kruger, and the total onslaught—came lumbering back to life this week: violent, ruthless, inept.

President de Klerk has accepted responsibility for the killing of five youths, none of them proven guilty of any crime, in the SADF's [South African Defense Force] Umtata raid. So he should, since he presided at the meeting which sanctioned the SADF's latest killing spree, but it is a tragedy that he has sullied a record of peace-making and political courage that reputedly made him a candidate, along with Nelson Mandela, for the Nobel Peace Prize. Such honours, one imagines, are now lost to him.

The puzzle is why? He must have known, from the past experience of SADF and SAP [South African police] operations, that the intelligence on which it was based would likely be faulty, that the raid would be conducted with ferocity verging on bloodlust, and that the raiders might well kill innocent people. If not innocent women, as in Maseru, then children, teenagers.

Among the theories put forward, the most popular seems to be that the rightwingers led by Mr. Kobie Coetsee, Minister of Defence, and Mr. Hernus Kriel, Minister of Law and Order, have gained the upper hand in the cabinet. A sub-theme is that, with only three weeks to go before the security forces fall under the control of the Transitional Executive Council, this was a last chance to strike back at APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army].

An elaboration of the theme suggests that the raid, like the obstinate decision to raise the petrol price, and to maintain that position even at the risk of mass action and economic harm, was a response to rightwing taunts that the government can no longer govern. The taunts, of course, are well-founded: Mr. de Klerk heads a lameduck government whose mandate has run out, whose term in office has six months to run, and whose chances of regaining power are nil.

Inspired politicking can, as Mr. Derek Keys demonstrated when he forged the multi-party alliance that unlocked sanctions, still achieve some purposes. But Mr. de Klerk presides over the weakest, and in some respects the shabbiest, cabinet in living memory: intellectually impoverished, morally bankrupt, politically inept. The crude methods of the old National Party, the skietskop-en-donder [shoot, kick, and beat up] politics of Kriel and Coetsee, are condemned to failure, but the men who lead the government, by and large, know nothing else.

Mr. Coetsee, in particular, is simply unable to cope with the new situation that faces him. His bungling of the release of prisoners has been the costliest mistake, socially and politically, since Mr. de Klerk embarked on his new course in February 1990.

His department's brief venture into constitution-making was hardly more impressive, and now he, having captured the most dangerous of portfolios, has sent the army on another disgraceful, and politically disastrous, operation.

The cabinet rightwingers, frustrated by their inability to protect the citizens, and frightened by the growing hostility to their party, may well have thought a military raid on a house in Umtata would somehow, miraculously, yield the key to the problem of restoring law and order.

But President de Klerk is not so naive; nor is the Foreign Minister, Mr. Pik Potha, who was also party to the decision. Moreover, both of them are immune to the accusation that they might have intended the raid to sink the negotiations, as President Botha sank the Eminent Persons Group by his raids in 1986. They are not as dense as some of their colleagues.

What, then, is the explanation for the raid? Until history reveals its secrets, we can only speculate that President de Klerk, harassed from all sides and worn down by four years of great effort, suffered a lapse of judgment, and eased his grip on a party that, given half a chance, reverts to the methods of its tawdry and brutal past.

President de Klerk may have been converted on the road to Damascus, but his party remains the monster whose history is written in the blood of Biko, and Goniwe, and Aggett, and the countless innocents slaughtered, one way and another, by the security forces. Six months before the election we have been given a glimpse, a reminder of the true character of the National Party.

# De Klerk Hints at Referendum If Talks Yield No Agreement

MB1110211393 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in Afrikaans 2000 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] The state president says if agreements between parties that mattered could not be reached on South Africa's constitutional process within the next four weeks, it would be best to hold a referendum.

President F.W. de Klerk, addressing the National Party [NP] congress in Stellenbosch, said the multiparty negotiating forum in Kempton Park no longer represented all parties, because too many parties that mattered were outside the negotiations process. He said there was a possibility of a crisis in the foreseeable future. Both the Freedom Alliarce, which is standing outside, and the ANC [African National Congress] and its allies were trying to humiliate each other politically and were not sufficiently bound to mutual cooperation. President de Klerk added that he could not allow any party to hijack or sink progress and negotiation.

On the talks he held in Cape Town with a delegation from the Freedom Alliance, he said it is clear the Alliance was eager to participate in negotiations as a unit and not independently.

Mr. de Klerk said the government and the NP had considered the road ahead, and saw the following: The government would remain committed to the multiparty negotiations process. The government would remain committed to timeframes it had proposed. And the government would attempt to obtain satisfaction within the next four weeks on important matters. This included the constitution, the workings of a government of national unity, and the division of functions between states in a federal system.

### ANC, IFP, CP React

MB1210114793 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1100 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Political leaders have given a cool reception to state President F. W. de Klerk's proposal for a referendum if agreement on constitutional matters cannot be reached within the next four weeks.

The ANC [African National Congress] and the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] said democracy was too far advanced for Mr. de Klerk to take a unilateral decision on any national poll. The Conservative Party rejected the idea, but it has not been ruled out by the Afrikaner

Volksfront [National Front]. The leader of the Democratic Party, Dr. Zach de Beer, said he saw no point in a referendum, but would not oppose it.

National Party sources said the referendum proposal had been debated within the party for several weeks. One source said the main reason for a referendum could be to expose the numerical weakness of the conservative alliance.

### **ANC Releases Statement**

MB1210152893 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1220 GMT 12 Oct 93

[SAPA PR wire service issued by the African National Congress, ANC]

[Text] The African National Congress [ANC] has consistently espoused the need for an inclusive process of negotiation which would take our country from apartheid to democracy.

Notwithstanding the walk out by a handful of participants, the only legitimate process to find a negotiated settlement is the multi-party negotiations process.

Those who walked out of the process are all creations of the apartheid order. They share the common goals of perpetuating their anti-democratic vested interests which they acquired under apartheid. They are motivated by the goal of dismembering South Africa into ethnic and tribal entities which would entrench the seeds of endless conflict.

The multi-party negotiations process is seized with the question as to how we move from the apartheid order to democracy. It is not about how we perpetuate apartheid or maintain it in any part or parts of South Africa under new guises.

Those who have walked out have ganged up to prevent change and impose their solutions against the will of the majority. Their actions cannot and do not in any way detract from the legitimacy of the multi-party process as the only forum through which a negotiated solution can emerge.

The negotiating process is today faced with the urgent need to complete the negotiation which have been taking place at Kempton Park. The task is to complete the interim construction in terms of the agreements so far arrived and to have this constitution enacted by the current Parliament. In order to ensure that the elections for the constitutional assembly and an interim government of national unity take place on the 27th of April. Nothing can shift us from these goals.

Once the negotiating process has completed the constitution for the transition, it may become advisable to address the question as to how to further legitimise the interim constitution. There are many ways, including a possible referendum, in which this could be addressed at the appropriate time.

The proposals made by F W de Klerk can only be considered on this basis. For the present, the proposals for a referendum raise the following questions:

The issue as to whether there should or should not be a referendum can only be decided upon at the negotiation council. This is a matter that cannot be decided upon unilaterally by De Klerk.

It must be clear that if there is to be any binding-in process the Negotiating Council must also determine the question to be put to the electorate in the context of the negotiated interim constitution, as well as who conducts such a referendum.

Given that there are vast areas of our country, including kwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and the Ciskei, where there is no free political activity; how will it be ensured that the referendum is free and fair? Above all, any such exercise will be meaningless if all South Africans, black and white, including those in Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, are not assured the right to participate.

South Africa needs to move with speed into the transition to democracy. The process of change is irreversible. We must be on guard to ensure that no proposal carries with it the prospect of delaying change.

In the meantime, we reiterate our commitment to the negotiating process and to engage with all forces including those on the extreme right who are resisting change. We want to find solutions with in the agreed time frames, which will lead our country along the path of maximum possible stability, to a non-racial and non-sexist democracy. Peace and democracy remain the fixed goals around which all negotiations are taking place.

### Holomisa Criticizes Remarks

MB1110211893 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2024 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] London Oct 11 SAPA—President F W de Klerk had no right to call a referendum for the rest of the country, Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa said on Monday. Reacting to Mr de Klerk's speech during the National Party Cape congress, Gen Holomisa told SAPA from London that the state president was capitalising on the misunderstandings at multilateral talks to "prolong his days in power".

"The recent raid in Transkei is testimony that Mr de Klerk wants to drive away people from the talks to prolong his days in power. He is capitalising on the fact that there is no longer any pressure exerted on him by the international community," Gen Holomisa charged.

The Transkei leader said if a referendum was called within the next three to four weeks in the event of no agreement at negotiations, it would mean Mr de Klerk and his department of home affairs would still be in charge. "For De Klerk to pose as a democrat, when he knows that people on the ground are not educated on even how to vote, leaves much to be desired. We hope

the ANC [African National Congress] and other liberation movements will view President de Klerk's stance as nothing else but a strategy to sabotage the current negotiations," Gen Holomisa added.

# De Klerk: Mandela Call for Bypassing Regime 'Irresponsible'

MB0810181293 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1600 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Text] President De Klerk has described as irresponsible a call by ANC [African National Congress] leader Nelson Mandela to the international community to bypass the South African Government and deal directly with the Transitional Executive Cc ancil. This statement followed a meeting between Mr. De Klerk and Barbados Prime Minister Lloyd Sandiford in Cape Town this morning. Jannie van Rensburg reports:

[Begin recording] [Van Rensburg] The meeting between President de Klerk and Prime Minister Sandiford took place at Westbrooke, the presidential guest house in Cape Town. Mr. Sandiford said that Barbados and other Commonwealth countries were ready to help with the development of a nonracial, democratic South Africa. President de Klerk added that he looked forward to a full normalization with all Commonwealth countries. Regarding ANC leader Nelson Mandela's call on the international community to bypass government and deal directly with the transitional executive government, Mr. de Klerk said that it was an irresponsible statement.

[De Klerk] The ANC cannot sidestep or sideline the government and cannot bypass the government. We are not being bypassed by any country in the world. As a government, our authority and the sovereignty of South Africa is not questioned anywhere in the world. I think it was a rather irresponsible statement. [end recording]

### CP Leader Views Call

MB0810181993 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1736 GMT 08 Oct 93

[Text] Pretoria Oct 8 SAPA—African National Congress [ANC] leader Nelson Mandela's call on world leaders to ignore the government and deal directly with the Transitional Executive Council [TEC] vindicated Conservative Party [CP] criticism that the Council would be a super-cabinet, CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said on Friday. In a statement, Dr Hartzenberg said: "It has to be understood that the government will not be allowed to execute attacks on terrorist bases, such as the raid in Transkei the past 24 hours, without the TEC's permission, once it is installed," he said.

He urged the government not to implement the TEC and to support the CP in its envisaged actions aimed at preventing the installation of the Council.

The National Party's almost "hysterical" reaction to Mr Mandela's statement confirmed they did not understand the full extent of government functions that would be handed over when the TEC was implemented, he added.

Dr Hartzenberg predicted Mr Mandela's call would be the beginning of what would become normal procedure, and he would use the powers obtained in terms of the TEC to win next year's scheduled elections with a bigger majority.

# Pending Issues at Upcoming Multiparty Talks Viewed

MB1210154693 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1310 GMT 12 Oct 93

### [By Guy Rogers]

[Text] Johannesburg Oct 12 SAPA—Multiparty negotiations resume at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park on Wednesday with a few more empty chairs, an overfull agenda and a potentially explosive issue to set things off. According to a source close to the talks the next 10 days will decide the impact of the newly-formed Freedom Alliance and effectively make or break the whole talks process.

By joining the Freedom Alliance on Thursday and pulling out of talks, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana joined the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP]/kwaZulu government and the Conservative Party [CP] in the powerful bloc whose shadow will be hanging over negotiators when they meet again.

If it takes its place in the council on Wednesday as expected, the Afrikaner Volksunie [National Union—AVU] will be the last representative of the now-defunct Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), from which the alliance was born.

The AVU said on Friday last week it would remain in talks until it knew more about the alliance. Some observers have suggested, however, that it might remain in the council as the alliance's mole. SAPA's source said the alliance's agenda would determine whether it impeded or helped the talks process. "If (Ciskei and Bophuthatswana negotiators) Mr. Webb and Mr. Cronje have the upper hand and can control (IFP President Mangosuthu) Buthelezi and (CP leader Ferdi) Hartzenberg, then it may be beneficial."

He said it would be a good thing if the proposed summit of leaders, including those from the African National Congress- government axis and from the alliance, could be linked to the World Trade Centre plenary. The plenary of leaders is due to meet in the first week of November to endorse the constitutional package presented by the (now 21-party) negotiating council and to set in motion the Transitional Executive Council—the body which will govern South Africa during its transition.

The source said the alliance's formation and the South African Defence Force's raid on a home in Transkei last week would have an impact on talks deadlines, setting them back possibly by a week. This would mean the constitutional package would, after ratification by the plenary, be presented to Parliament for its final rubber stamp on November 15.

Wednesday's talks will begin with an extra-long planning committee meeting to discuss the Pan Africanist Congress' [PAC] angry call for last Thursday's raid to be debated urgently in the negotiating council. The PAC, which has adhered to the armed struggle through its Azanian People's Liberation Army, and Transkei have claimed that the five people killed in the raid were children. The issue is almost certain to displace the scheduled and possibly finalising debate on fundamental human rights.

Constitutional issues, which include matters effecting the Electoral Act, the judiciary, the executive and regions are also scheduled for Wednesday. Regional demarcation, national symbols and fundamental rights have also to be finalised.

President F W de Klerk emphasised that things were drawing to a climax when he suggested on Monday that "if parallel agreements between all parties" were not reached within four weeks, then a referendum should be held.

Exactly what the referendum question should be was not spelt out, but in effect the package formulated at the World Trade Centre, on which so much hinges and to which so few ordinary South Africans have had access, would be presented to the public.

SAPA's source said the referendum proposed by Mr. de Klerk could become a reality and the impact of the alliance and its effect on the talks process would soon be known. "The next 10 days will tell."

# Mandela Meets Irish Premier, Comments on Nobel Prize

MB1110064493 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 0500 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] ANC [African National Congress] leader Nelson Mandela has rejected by implication appeals for him not to (?accept) the Nobel Peace Prize jointly with the state president because of the defense force raid into Transkei.

Mr. Mandela said, after talks in Dublin with Irish Prime Minister Albert Reynolds, that if the honor were offered to him and President de Klerk in Oslo on Friday, it would be an acknowledgment of the important role they were playing in the normalizing of the situation in South Africa. It would also signify the Nobel Foundation's support for democracy in this country.

### **Labor Party Leader Announces Resignation**

MB0910143393 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1415 GMT 09 Oct 93

[Text] Uitenhage Oct 9 SAPA—Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse announced on Saturday that he would relinquish the leadership of the party. Speaking at the Eastern Cape Regional Congress of the Labour Party [LP] at Uitenhage, Mr Hendrickse is reported by SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news as saying that he would use his time to garner Labour Party votes for the African National Congress [ANC] in the April 27, 1994, election.

In a strong attack on ANC Western Cape Chairman Dr Alan Boesak, Mr Hendrickse, said the LP, and not Dr Boesak alone, could lead the coloured people into the ANC. Mr Hendrikse also slammed the SA Defence Force [SADF] cross-border raid into the Transkei and said it was "despicable" that Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee had been taking part in negotiations when he knew of the impending attack.

He accused the SADF of waiting until Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa and African National Congress President Nelson Mandela were overseas before attacking "innocent children". He said the Transitional Executive Council [TEC] must take control of the Defence Force immediately.

Mr Hendrickse also condemned the decision not to rescind the petrol price increase. He called for the immediate sacking of mineral and energy affairs minister, George Bartlett.

Mr Hendrickse said he welcomed the statement by Mr Mandela that the international community must in future deal directly with the TEC.

# Bophuthatswana Police Interrogate PAC's Alexander

MB1010060793 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 0500 GMT 10 Oct 93

[Excerpt] The secretary general of the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress], Mr. Benny Alexander, and another PAC official were detained and interrogated by the Bophuthatswana police after a PAC meeting at the University of Bophuthatswana yesterday.

Mr. Mark Shinners of the PAC said that the police had disrupted the meeting that he and Mr. Alexander were addressing. As they were leaving the campus, the police had detained them and told them to produce proof that they had permission to hold the meeting. Mr. Shinners said they had been released without being charged and had been told to be out of the area by 5 o'clock [1500 GMT] yesterday afternoon. The Bophuthatswana police could not be reached for comment. [passage omitted]

### Right Wing's Viljoen, Terreblanche Address Rallies

MB0910183793 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in Afrikaans 1600 GMT 9 Oct 93

[Text] Afrikaner National Front [AVF] leader General Constand Viljoen said if the Afrikaner nation does not

stand united in its struggle for freedom and selfdetermination, the country runs the risk of a rebellion like the one in 1914. During a Heroes' Day ceremony, Gen. Viljoen said there has to be negotiation if Afrikaners want peace in the country. Andries van Zyl reports:

[Begin recording] [Van Zyl] At Hertzog Square in Bloemfontein's city center Gen. Viljoen addressed a crowd of about 2,000 people who were paying tribute to national heroes who have fought for Afrikaner freedom—Gen. J.B. Hertzog and C.R. de Wet, as well as President M.P Steyn and Advocate C.R. Swart. During a ceremony marked by choral singing and Boer music, national flags and the Orange Free State flag, Gen. Viljoen said although negotiations must take place for the sake of peace, the current negotiation process was making a mockery of negotiations.

[Viljoen] That is why it is essential that at this stage we must pause and think, and as leaders of South Africa we must come together and ask: Is that which is in the process of developing really what South Africa wants?

[Van Zyl] Gen. Viljoen said the National Front's approach to negotiations still remains: The Afrikaner will not surrender his freedom and his self-determination.

[Vitjoen] In all fairness, we are going to ask the other peoples of South Africa today for that which we regard as ours: We want a state of our own. If we are not united in this ideal of building our own state, then we run the risk of dissension that could lead to a rebellion similar to the one in 1914. [end recording]

The Afrikaner nation's struggle for self-determination also elicited wild response in Klerksdorp, where the CP [Conservative Party] leader, Ferdi Hartzenberg, opened the Afrikaner Resistance Movement's [AWB] national congress. Dr. Hartzenberg said the Afrikaner people must demarcate regions for themselves where they can practice their own politics:

[Begin Hartzenberg recording] There are regions where Mr. de Klerk and the others want to hold meetings, but the ANC [African National Congress] says it is their area. It is our region, but the ANC says it is its region. I think the time has come for us to say: You are no longer going to put your foot in our region.... [applause drowns last few words] [end recording]

The AWB committed itself during its congress to cooperation with the AVF on condition that the latter refrains from negotiations with the ANC. Leader Eugene Terreblanche said revived unity in right-wing ranks is strong enough to insist on a free nation state.

[Terreblanche] A Boer cannot exist without land. If we do not get land, then we will get war in South Africa. [applause] [end recording]

### UN Lifts Most Non-Mandatory Economic Sanctions MB0810183493 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1600 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Text] The UN General Assembly has lifted most of its non-mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa. In a resolution adopted without a vote and without debate, it also decided to lift a non-mandatory oil embargo when the Transitional Executive Council becomes operational. The arms embargo remains in force.

# American Stabbed in Cape Town; Motive Thought Robbery

MB0910140293 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1350 GMT 09 Oct 93

[Text] Cape Town Oct 9 SAPA—An American volunteer teacher was stabbed several times on Friday night while making a telephone call at Cape Town's district six school campus where she taught and lived. Danielle Marlin, 23, who was stabbed in her neck and the left side of her body, is in a stable condition in Groote Schuur Hospital. She is due to return to the United States next month at the end of a year-long spell as a volunteer English teacher at the Zonnebloem Nest School.

Police spokeswoman Virna Louw said Miss Marlin was attacked while making a telephone call about 10.30 AM. She managed to drag herself to the home of the school caretaker, who took her to hospital. Sgt Louw said Miss Marlin's rucksack containing books and other belongings was later found in a dustbin nearby. Police have not been able to establish whether anything was stolen because Miss Marlin is still heavily sedated.

Sgt Louw said the motive for the attack appeared to be robbery and police have not linked the attack to the fatal stabbing of American exchange student Amy Biehl in Guguletu two months ago. Miss Biehl's family arrive in Cape Town later on Saturday for a week-long visit as guests of Cape Town Mayor Clive Keegan. They will attend a church service in Guguletu on Sunday morning.

### Two Arrested for Attack

MB1010100793 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 0900 GMT 10 Oct 93

[Text] Two youths have been arrested in connection with the attack on an American exchange student, 23-year-old Miss Daniella Malin, in Cape Town on Friday. Miss Malin was stabbed in the throat with a knife at the Zonnebloem College in Woodstock, where she has a teaching post. She was also badly beaten. Miss Malin is being treated in the trauma unit of a hospital, where her condition has been described as satisfactory. The youths are expected to appear in court tomorrow.

### South African Press Review for 10 Oct MB1010104393

[Editorial Report]

### SATURDAY STAR

"When a government sends its soldiers on a mission to kill in territory it recognises as sovereign, its reasons had better be good. Yet the South African Government's explanation for shooting up an Umtata house" is "vague and unconvincing to say the least," an editorial in the Johannesburg SATURDAY STAR in English on 9 October on page 8 states. With the SADF [South African Defense Forcel and SAP (South African police) to meet APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army] at the end of the month "the decision to strike becomes even more surprising," "South Africa cannot afford recklessness." "The strike illustrates how much damage the uncontrolled deployment of the security forces can do, and hammers home the need to wrest their control away from a single party." "South Africans should not be forced to make a choice between APLA terror and Government recllessness. The security forces under multiparty control can act with the confidence of public backing. And if APLA continues to fire guns for political gains, then action taken against appropriate targets can be justified without ifs or buts."

### SUNDAY STAR

"The more APLA and the Government wrangle over the details of the pre-dawn raid on Umtata, the more apparent it becomes that the time for joint control of the security forces is overdue," an editorial in the Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English on 10 October on page 26 notes. "As long as this Government continues to exercise sole control of the SAP and SADF, the danger remains that similar incidents could mar the smooth transition to democracy." "Despite its understandable fury at this week's attack, APLA is hardly innocent in the affair as it has itself launched horrific murder attacks on civilians. It can serve its own interests best by restraining its cadres over the next few weeks until a settlement is reached." "The interests of all will be served by restraint over the new few crucial weeks as negotiations reach their climaxincluding restraint by the Government whose timing in launching this raid could not have been worst."

### SUNDAY NATION

"The savage attack by the SADF which resulted in the killing of five children is one of the most cynical and cruel acts to be perpetrated by this government in recent times," an editorial in the Johannesburg SUNDAY NATION in English on 10 October on page 8 states. This attack "must stand to expose F.W. de Klerk as being personally responsible for the assassination of political leaders and as being the chief architect of the wanton violence that affects huge parts of the coutry." "One could imagine the hue and cry that would have been heard had these murdered children been white. How can this man who has no regard for black lives be serious about the committement to peace and democracy." "The government has launched an intense campiagn to project APLA as the creators of violence, when in fact it is the government itself, through its regular forces, the

army, the police and its third force, which have subjected people to so much violence." "This week's killings, and the government's ongoing campaign against APLA raises the question of whether the numerous attacks that were blamed on APLA may in fact be the work of agents provocateurs working for the third force."

# South African Press Review for 11 Oct MB1110092093

[Editorial Report]

### THE STAR

Danger and Opportunity-"The formation of the Freedom Alliance has been on the cards for months. It represents the metamorphosis of the Concerned South Africans Group [Cosag] into a formal allaince," an editorial in the Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 11 October on page 8 notes. "There are negative, even ominous dimensions to its birth. But there are also positive aspects which offer room for creative diplomacy." "On the negative side, the transformation of Cosag has been accompanied by the withdrawal of its two last remaining representatives at the Negotiating Council, the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments." "Two potentially serious consequences follow: first, the Freedom Alliance could establish a rival negotiating forum: second, the settlement could be born in enmity, thus making the constitution an issue of conflict rather than a framework for regulating the political process." "On the other hand, the Freedom Alliance will speak with a single voice. It may, therefore, be easier for the De Klerk administration and the ANC [African National Congress] to reach a constructive agreement with its leaders on the critical issue of 'self-determination." "This presupposes a willingness by De Klerk and, more particularly, by Mandela to agree to a more genuine federal arrangement, even if it has . given a different label."

### **BUSINESS DAY**

Another Disaster—"How much damage the SA Defense Force [SADF] has done the country in its raid on the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] member's house in Umtata on Friday is difficult to assess, but the SADF has probably hastened its own demise," an editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 11 October on page 6 notes. "President de Klerk, whose cabinet approved the raid, will have to take much of the blame." "He has been let down again by the security forces he trusted, and their poor judgment and incompetence will reduce his public standing, damage his credibility and cost his party votes on April 27." "It is difficult to imagine an organisation so inept as to turn the PAC and APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army] into 'good guys', but the SADF has managed it."

### SOWETAN

Act of Desperate Men-"The SADF's cowardly 'cross border' raid on an alleged APLA safe house and the

coldblooded murder of its occupants in Umtata last week was an act of a desperate Government," an editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 11 October on page 6 notes. "It seems the Government also intended to use the raid as a pathetic signal that it is still in charge. In reality its mask slipped to show a bungling Government still mired in its oppressive past and steered by the frantic leaders of a moribund National Party."

Reincorporation of TBVC states—A second editorial in the 11 October SOWETAN calls the withdrawal of Boputhatswana and Ciskei from the negotiations "regrettable," and notes "it must not be used or seen as a stumbling block to their reincorporation into South Africa." "It was not unexpected that tinpot despots Lucas Mangope and Oupa Gqozo would put up resistance to reincorporation." "The negotiating forum should set deadlines for the reincorporation of the TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] states and Mangope and Gqozo should be informed in no uncertain terms that hiding behind the skirts of the IFP or Afrikaner Volksfront [Afrikaner National Front] is not going to prevent the demise of their pseudo states."

### BEELD

Minority Protection Practicable—"The renewed debate on an Afrikaner homeland is hard to understand," says an editorial on page 8 of the Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans of 5 October. "Surely, after 45 years of failed apartheid, no one can still believe that an exclusive ethnic state created on the basis of discriminatory measures can be seen as a means of allaying minority fears? No one is questioning the good faith of the government, the ANC, and peace-loving proponents of such a homeland. Every effort to break the rightwing protest fever must be welcomed. But practicability must be the criterion. A good case can be made, with international support, for the protection of minority rights." "Minorities should be given autonomy over matters such as education, culture, welfare, and must even be able to impose taxes." BEELD concludes: "If the homelanders support this option—which is attainable—they would be surprised how much support they would be given in South Africa and abroad. Best of all, negotiations have created a climate in which such minority protection can be included in a new South Africa."

Lifting Sanctions—The BEELD of 7 October points out in a page 12 editorial: "The 3-year high reached last month in the South African Chamber of Business' [SACOB] business confidence index confirms that the recession is over. The official lifting of sanctions against South Africa and the loans which will soon be available from the IMF have given South African businessmen a confidence boost. However, SACOB's report contains aspects which are cause for concern. One of these is that in certain regions confidence is still as low as during the recession. These are regions where violence remains high, such as the east Rand." Transvaal Province as a whole performs poorly, judging from the reluctance of businessmen to invest, continues BEELD, adding: "This

is a pity, because the province represents the heart of South Africa's economy. The negative perceptions here are a sign that increasing violence can neutralize all the advantages of the lifting of sanctions." "If South African businessmen can still hesitate to go ahead with expansion because they are uncertain about the political future, they are in effect imposing sanctions against the country. The question therefore is, how then can one expect foreigners to invest in the country?"

Press Freedom-A second editorial on the same page of the 7 October BEELD says: "One aspect of the Moscow drama is of particular interest to South Africa, and that is the premium which the international community places on press freedom. After the bloody suppression of the revolt against him, President Yeltsin announced several undemocratic measures. He banned certain opposition groups, closed communist newspapers, and censored others. "This was an embarassment to Western countries which supported Yeltsin, and they protested behind the scenes. Accordingly the censoring of the newspapers was stopped immediately. In South Africa we are still battling to get press freedom entrenched in a bill of rights." BEELD concludes: "As the Russian example has shown, South African politicains must realize that the West will not be satisfied with a situation in which press freedom is not fully guaranteed."

## South African Press Review for 12 Oct

MB1210141293

[Editorial Report]

### THE STAR

Motivation for Umtata Raid Obscure—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 12 October in a page 10 editorial comments on the South African Defense Force, SADF, raid on an alleged Azanian People's Liberation Army, APLA, base in Umtata in the Transkei, saying:

"Whatever the motivation, the questionable morality of the attack is highlighted by the fact that an APLA-Government meeting to discuss an end to the liberation organisation's armed struggle was already scheduled when the raiders were given the nod to launch their mission. The Government has repeatedly pointed fingers at the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] for simultaneously talking peace and waging war. Its actions in the dead of night in an Umtata suburb amount to much the same thing." THE STAR notes the "muscular wing" of the Cabinet is "beginning to have a more prominent say in decision-making." "President de Klerk, a parently confident that the process is irreversible, feels free to unleash the hawks, as well as his own and the National Party's natural instincts."

### **BUSINESS DAY**

Inkatha "Dominant Force" in New Freedom Alliance-"The so-called Freedom Alliance is a logical, though not necessarily sustainable, response to the slick negotiating tactics of the ANC [African National Congress] and, even more so, the National Party [NP]," declares a page 8 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 12 October. The "looseness" of the structure of the Concerned South Africans Group had left its members, "white right-wing parties and homeland regimes" "vulnerable to being played off against each other by Roelf Meyer, Cyril Ramaphosa and their respective teams." BUSINESS DAY believes that now "more unites the alliance than divides it." Inkatha is "the dominant force, and NP and ANC attempts to sell to the alliance a mutually acceptable compromise must continue to focus on that fact." "Where right-wing threats of armed resistance are concerned, the bark is generally worse than the bite. But taken together with recent militaristic moves by Inkatha, and the existing military capabilities of both the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, the alliance's two-pronged strategy-talks backed up by the threat of violence-is becoming clearer."

### Angola

# UNITA Radio: U.S. Warns Luanda To Resume Talks

MB1210064093 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo Negro in Portuguese 0600 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Officials in the Clinton administration this week warned the Luanda government to enter into peace talks with the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA, or witness changes in U.S. policy toward Angola. Washington-based diplomatic sources have said that the international community today perceives the inflexibility displayed by the Eduardo dos Santos government as the greatest obstacle to peace efforts for Angola.

Should Luanda not enter into peace talks, the White House could take such measures as not to support further sanctions against UNITA when the UN Security Council meets again to review the Angolan issue on 1 November. The Clinton administration is currently studying the implications of the communiques issued by UNITA and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party, MPLA-PT. Diplomats have said that the stance adopted by the MPLA-PT has come as a surprise and has even caused consternation in U.S. diplomatic circles.

### Dos Santos on Government's Work, Peace Prospects

MB0810220093 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 2003 GMT 8 Oct 93

["Text" of address by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos at the swearing-in ceremony for new ambassadors at the Futungo de Belas Palace in Luanda on 8 October recorded]

[Text] Distinguished members of the government, ladies and gentlemen: We meet again today during the installation of some more government members, at a time when there is still no significant sign that the muchdesired peace is within our reach, despite the statements made by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] and its leader over the past few weeks. UNITA proposals are ambiguous and contradictory in some essential aspects. They appear to be another maneuver to gain time and recover positions lost on the battlefield. While proclaiming a unilateral cease-fire that never existed, the UNITA military wing continues to mount military actions and prevent the distribution of humanitarian aid, thus prolonging the suffering of thousands and thousands of Angolans and flagrantly violating human rights.

This situation has seriously exacerbated the economic problems of our people, who are already facing the problems of farmine, misery, disease, nakedness, and homelessness. For this reason, the government drew up an emergency program with a series of concrete actions

to halt the deterioration of the situation and to alleviate its effect on our people's daily life. This emergency program is an integral part of a long-term general program to be implemented by the government while it is containing the present crisis. Thus, the government can act in conditions of greater stability and in a more articulate way in the political, diplomatic, military, economic, and social fields. This long-term program centers mainly on the fields of legislation, administration, and state judicial organs. In my recent message to the nation, I had the opportunity to speak about it in a more detailed form and about the necessary steps for its implementation.

During this period, it is vital to reinforce the resistance of the Angolan Armed Forces [FAA] to attacks by UNITA, which does not desist from its objective of consolidating and extending its positions on the central plateau so as to divide the country, since it has been unable to usurp central power by force of arms.

At the same time—and although some steps have already been taken to resume the reform process, which has been affected by the new war mounted by UNITA after the elections, notably the completion of the legislation vital for the full operation of a market economy and the adjustment of the state apparatus to the serious military situation—it is important that the government assumes its rightful role in national life. The government must adopt a more dynamic style to conform fully to our country's reality; there must be direct contact with the citizens in order to hear and discuss their views and aspirations and to identify in a clearer manner their concerns and desires.

What is more, the government must fight to guarantee discipline, transparency, and rigor in all its actions, by conveying a public image of seriousness and efficiency, providing (?civic education) to society, reinforcing state authority, and guaranteeing respect for the rule of law by both national citizens and foreigners.

It is no secret to anyone that the image of the country and the government abroad has not always conformed to reality because of our inability to convey what we do and think through the press and our embassies. This has obscured the justice of the values we defend and the noble objectives that guide us. It is therefore important that our ambassadors should, through the assistance of the relevant ministry, reinforce their ties with the country and establish speedy and credible forms of action wherever they may be, be it with foreign government officials or the news media, so that they can counteract the distorted information that powerful UNITA lobbies circulate through the organs they control, which are difficult to unmask. We need to organize and discipline our embassies abroad and provide them with cadres who are capable and worthy of the diplomatic service-removing all those who are living in the past and unable to defend the priority interests of our people and country.

It is only by placing general interests above personal interests that our leaders can enjoy the esteem and respect of the people who, although indirectly, freely and in good faith elected them as legitimate representatives to carry out the government program that can resolve the people's problems.

To guarantee maximum effectiveness of the government action, it is vital that all citizens of the nation should feel equally motivated through direct military service or in normal work to face the violence and intransigence of the UNITA military wing. The FAA forces, political parties, the civilian society, and all peace-loving Angolans must combine their efforts to defend the threatened fatherland and to search for a just and honorable peace.

As was the case in the past, we cannot fail to establish a link between the military fronts and areas where the war is indirectly felt. It is vital that those who daily risk their lives in the fight against the enemy should not feel forgotten by those who carry out their activities in areas of relative security and stability.

We feel gratified by the recognition, although belated and hesitant, which our cause has begun to receive at the international level. We are overjoyed by the stands that are being adopted by the international community, particularly the beginning of the application of sanctions against UNITA by the UN Security Council.

Meanwhile, it is vital that we should count on our own strength. Let us all mobilize ourselves to close this chapter of violence, oppression, and betrayal of the people's interests. It is only with our engagement and energy that we can reestablish the necessary peace and security to guarantee in the future the welfare, happiness, and the development of all the Angolan people.

It is with these words that I conclude this speech wishing you all many successes in your work. Thank you very much. [applause]

### Commentary Views 8 Oct Speech

MB0910153493 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo Negro in Portuguese 1200 GMT 9 Oct 93

[Station commentary: "Communist MPLA Still Bent on a Military Solution"]

[Text] While the whole world welcomed UNITA's [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] latest peace gesture as a very positive step, the communist MPLA-PT [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party] government once again dashed the hopes of the Angolan people. MPLA-PT Chairman Jose Eduardo dos Santos responded to UNITA's peace gesture—disclosed through a communique issued by its Political Commission—with yet another declaration of war, the second of its kind in a month. Jose Eduardo dos Santos' statements are nothing but a scandal in view of the efforts of UNITA, as well as those of the nations and

political and diplomatic personalities of good will who wish to see an end to the Angolan conflict through peaceful dialogue.

Both friends and foes hailed UNITA's recent concessions as a very important step toward peace in Angola. For months UNITA did its best to promote a peaceful solution in the interest of all the Angolan people, but it has become clear that the main obsession of the MPLA-PT's communist government right now is to impose a military solution on the Angolan people. To implement its macabre scheme, the MPLA-PT is trying to use the international community to impose so-called punitive sanctions on UNITA, thereby legitimizing its policy of tribal genocide. To sum up, the MPLA-PT communist government is trying to avoid open and democratic dialogue.

UNITA has already done everything that could be expected. The international community has the moral obligation to uphold peace and democracy in Angola. Statements such as the one made on 8 October by Jose Eduardo dos Santos only serve to confirm the Angolan people's fears that the MPLA-PT has not changed at all and is ready to sacrifice peace and national reconstruction in Angola. We must now see how long the international community will allow the MPLA-PT to continue holding Angola's peace for ransom.

### Dos Santos Urges UNITA To Review Peace Proposals

MB1110214193 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 2002 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Speech by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos at the swearing-in of members of the Council of the Republic in Luanda on 11 October—recorded]

[Text] Illustrious members of the Council of the Republic, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

Today, I am pleased to swear in the new Council of the Republic. Under the terms of the Constitution, this Council is a consultative organ of the president of the Republic, established to hear the views of eminent dignitaries representing the wishes of a cross section of our society. Through the Council of the Republic, the members of the legislative, executive, and judiciary organs, and members of political parties represented in parliament, as well as other representatives of society, may give their priceless contribution to decisionmaking of far-reaching importance to the state of democracy. We are hereby taking another step to consolidate democracy. It is through debate and by listening to different opinions that we can make an in-depth analysis of every issue and of problems of national interest in order to find solutions to the challenges we face.

We regret the absence of the leader of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], a party that took part in the drafting of the Constitution and in the approval of this body. This body should be the privileged forum for that party to discuss, in a peaceful and orderly manner, its differences with the government as well as the conditions for the holding of the second round of presidential elections. Had he not resumed the war for not accepting his electoral defeat in the first round of elections, this swearing-in ceremony would have been held a long time ago. We have, however, decided to hold it now because life goes on, and the Angolan state should organize and consolidate its institutions.

We have not closed the door to anyone. As constitutional president of the Republic, I will continue to be committed to the law and will guarantee adherence to the law. Proof of this is the fact that despite a number of pressures and expectations, we have so far prevented a state of emergency and siege from being declared, thereby upholding democracy and the state of law with great hardship. This is a position that the UNITA leader, in view of his Maoist past and his totalitarian outlook and conduct, is certainly unable to understand. He still thinks that power is gained by the force of arms. That is why he wages a criminal war against the people and the democratic institutions.

Although partial sanctions adopted by the UN Security Council have been applied against UNITA, the latter continues to use a number of subterfuges to secure the recognition of the positions that it occupied militarily with its illegal army, and to disregard the legitimate demands made by the government and the international community. Obviously, UNITA's fait accompli policy is unacceptable because it would mean sanctioning the violation of the Bicesse Accord and the disregard for the electorate's will expressed through the ballot box. It would also create a serious precedent in non-adherence to UN Security Council resolutions.

Unfortunately, UNITA's latest statements have brought nothing new. In democracy, there are no militarized parties. UNITA did not say whether it wants to stop being an armed party. It has made demands and failed to tell the truth. On what moral grounds could UNITA make demands from an elected government if its uses undemocratic methods, deploys its personnel, and continuously replenishes its weaponry in order to occupy new areas? This is something outside the bounds of political parties. I feel that with its new lies, UNITA is merely intending to nullify the threat of new and more vigorous sanctions within the framework defined by the UN Security Council.

Meanwhile, peace, unity, and national reconciliation are what Angolans wish most. We are aware of the need to explore all avenues to achieve those goals. It is our belief that UNITA's Political Commission should delete the ambigraous elements from the fundamental aspects of its communique, and show that it recognizes the validity of the Bicesse Accord, accepts the election results, and is ready to unequivocally abide by the UN Security Council resolutions. As always, the government is willing to be flexible, but it will demand adherence to the law. I would like to repeat it: As always, the government is willing to be flexible, but it will demand adherence to the

law. There should be no amnesty without something in return. The government will not accept a solution to the conflict outside the framework of the Bicesse Accord, the unequivocal acceptance of the fairness of the elections and its results, and pertinent UN Security Council resolutions. Another fundamental principle to be observed should be the adherence to the universal principles of democracy.

The distinguished members of the Council of the Republic will have the opportunity of receiving detailed information on the political and military situation and the ongoing peace process. I hope that your experience, sense of responsibility, and knowledge may contribute to the search of the most fair and balanced solutions in order to end the conflict afflicting our people. Likewise, we will have the opportunity to debate and approve the Council's internal regulations, statutes, and membership in order to fully accomplish our mission. Although this is a mere consultative political organ, its consensus will always be taken into account in the making of decisions.

Finally, I wish you many successes in our activities. Thank you very much. [applause]

### Opposition Leaders React to UNITA's Proposals

MB0910095793 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Text] Forty-eight hours after UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] told all and sundry about its alleged intention of upholding a cease-fire and accepting the election results, political parties have commented on the situation. They said it is necessary for UNITA to substantiate its statements.

[Begin recording] [Angolan Democratic Forum leader N'zau Puna] It is necessary that UNITA clarifies its positions and convinces the government to make it feel confident that serious negotiations will take place. Right now, I do not believe in UNITA's positions. It will be a waste of time. It will be a second edition of Abidjan in that a meeting scheduled to last three days will continue for months on end. They will ask for a review of issues that they had already agreed on, and in the end nothing will be achieved. UNITA has declared a unilateral cease-fire, and recognized the September elections as free and fair... [pauses] If UNITA relinquishes all positions that it has taken by force as a result of a rebellion, then there could be progress. UNITA is aiming at a partition, with the government and UNITA keeping the positions they hold right now. What will be left of Angola?

[Liberal Democratic Party leader Carlos Simiao] UNITA's goodwill could be considered if its troops were disarmed, confined to barracks, and integrated in the national army, and its members of parliament took their seats in the National Assembly. If that had been done, I would believe in UNITA. So, it is merely a trick, a game of words. I cannot see how one can achieve peace like that. UNITA is still armed. It says one thing and does

another. We cannot continue as if it were A Thousand and One Nights with a new chapter every day. When will it end?

[Party of the Angolan Republic leader Rui Victoria Pereira] We are used to Savimbi saying one thing today and doing another tomorrow. I have been labelled a pessimistic person, but I am not one. At best, I would say I am an optimist with reservations. We already have the examples of Addis Ababa and Abidjan. In a somewhat contradictory manner, Savimbi has always said that he acknowledged the elections as having been free and fair. All of sudden, he says the elections were fraudulent. [end recording]

# Government's Reply to UNITA Communique Reported

MB0910195893 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 9 Oct 93

[Text] The government wants a preliminary meeting between the UN Angola Verification Mission, the troika of observers, and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] to clarify the ambiguities and contradictions contained in the communique issued by the leadership of Jonas Savimbi's movement. The Angolan Government hopes that this meeting will provide a serious foundation for the beginning of political discussions with UNITA in the light of the UN resolutions.

In a communique issued to the press today, the Angolan Government lists as ambiguities in UNITA's communique the intention to update the Bicesse Accords, the recognition of election results with reservations, and the statement that it had only taken note of the UN Security Council resolutions on Angola.

The Angolan Government said the UNITA communique clearly confirms that this organization seems not to be ready for a peaceful solution of the present conflict within the internationally recognized legal framework.

# UN's Beye Responds Positively to Government Request

MB1010074193 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0700 GMT 10 Oct 93

[Text] Alioune Blondin Beye, special representative of the UN secretary general in Angola, says he has promised the Angolan Government to concentrate all efforts to resume the peace process in close cooperation with the troika of observers. This guarantee is contained in a UN Angola Verification Mission's [Unavem]-2 communique sent to our news desk and follows a government's request on the need to hold a preliminary meeting between representatives from the United Nations, the troika of observers, and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] to clarify UNITA's ambiguities and contradictions before the resumption of the peace negotiatins.

The Unavem-2 communique takes note of the recent official contacts that Alioune Blondin Beye held with Angolan Foreign Minister Venancio de Moura and National Assembly Chairman Franca van Dunem and thanks the government for its rapid reply. The special representative of the UN secretary general has already held a meeting with the representatives of the three observer countries to coordinate views on actions to be adopted to advance the peace process.

Malian-born Alioune Blondin Beye, 54, today completes 100 days in his new post in Angola, since he replaced Margaret Anstee from Britain.

### 'Hundreds' Said Killed in Attack Near Cuito

LD1210062993 Lisbon RDP Antena 1 Radio Network in Portuguese 2300 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] We have received more news of fighting in Angola. There are news reports of hundreds of casualties following a UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] attack yesterday afternoon 12 kilometers from Cuito. Alioune Beye's spokeswoman, Xica Aouno, does not deny the attack but also does not confirm UNITA was behind it:

[Begin recording] [Aouno] Our military observers have informed us this morning that there was some military activity about 12 kilometers from Cuito.

### [Correspondent] An attack by UNITA?

[Aouno] I do not know. That was not included in the information we received. We were, indeed, informed that there was some military action some 12 kilometers outside Cuito.

[Correspondent] Have you had any information on casualties?

[Aouno] No, we have not yet received such information. [end recording]

Xica Aouno stated she had not been informed about casualties. However, a report by Lusa quotes an Angolan National Radio correspondent in the city, who reported that during the attack that took place some 12 kilometers outside Cuito, hundreds of civilians were killed.

Also yesterday, a mine exploded outside Malange and caused the death of 15 people.

# Luanda Radio Reports UNITA Continues Cuito Siege

MB1210065993 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0600 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Despite the unilateral cease-fire declaration made by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA, a war situation continues in the country. In a nutshell, the gesture by the Jonas Savimbiled organization amounted to nothing more than an exercise in propaganda to avoid further UN Security Council sanctions. At this stage, the provinces of Bie, Cuando Cubango, and Malange are those most affected by UNITA operations. In Cuito, the UNITA forces continue their siege around the city, preventing people from moving to its outlying areas in search of food. In addition, the UNITA rebels have also been stealing the people's possessions. Abel Abraao, our correspondent in the area, reports:

[Begin Abraao recording] The UNITA rebels have occupied the homes of civilians who had sought refuge in the city center because of the intense shelling that has rocked Cuito for the last nine months. In addition to losing all their possessions, those civilians now walk about the streets aimlessly. They have no chance whatsoever to return to their homes because they have been occupied by the men led by Jonas Malheiro Savimbi. The most worrisome aspect of this situation is the great concentration of UNITA men and war materiel. The governmental forces are also facing constant provocation. [end recording]

### UNITA Attacks MPLA Forces in Cuando Cubango

MB1210071693 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0600 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA, forces have been ambushing government forces in Cuando Cubango Province. As in Bie Province, UNITA has been moving men and military equipment as part of a military strategy. Our correspondent in the area reports:

[Begin recording] UNITA forces estimated to make up a full battalion have attacked a position held by government forces north of Menongue. The UNITA forces bombed the area with 120 mm cannons [words indistinct] the (?defense) line of the Angolan Armed Forces, as well as the eastern side of Menongue. Their operation was unsuccessful, though. Meanwhile, UNITA has been moving other forces and war materiel along the road between Catota and Menongue with a view to occupying advantageous positions so they can then launch attacks against the city of Menongue. [end recording]

### Ambassador to U.S. Condemns Pro-UNITA Lobbies

MB0810161493 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0600 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Text] Jose Patricio, first Angolan ambassador to the United States, has condemned the diplomatic philosophy of the lobbies supporting the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA]. He said the lobbies are only interested in aggravating ethnic differences rather than helping find a quick negotiated solution to the war in Angola.

Jose Patricio said pro-UNITA lobbies are dissatisfied with the U.S. recognition of the Angolan Government and with losing a chance to play a major role in the Angolan process. Ambassador Jose Patricio believes that pro-UNITA lobbies want to prolong the Angolan conflict because some people's tragedy is good business for other people. The recently appointed Angolan ambassador also said that Angola and the United States have begun to normalize relations and soon they will identify priority areas of bilateral cooperation.

### \* Government's Evolving Economic Policy Observed

93AF0832B Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese 4 Sep 93 p B2

[Article by Gustavo Costa: "Economy Dictates New Policy"]

[Text] On Wednesday [29 September], Prime Minister Marcelino Moco was a disconsolate man. The evening before, Finance Minister Emanuel Carneiro had received an "order from the top," recommending that the kwanza—Angola's national currency—be devalued by 80 percent this weekend.

Leaning back in the big chair in his office, the chief of government asked the economists what effects the measure would have. They replied in unison: none. He put his hands to his head and commented: "We have changed the structure, but the single-party mentality still rules in the heads of many people." Marcelino's only small consolation is that the more realistic and braver economists stood their ground and advised President Eduardo dos Santos against signing the decree that would impose a war tax on the citizens.

The "Xirimbimbi syndrome" (from the name of the former finance minister, who has just been appointed adviser to the prime minister and who proposed six months ago to clean up the nation's economy, setting the exchange rate at 7,000 kwanza; to the dollar) still seems to determine the adoption of decisive measures to extricate Angola from the current crisis. According to some experts, the solution does not lie in more taxes but in a rigorous cutback in public spending, from top to bottom, the regulation of military expenditures, and better use of the inflationary tax ["imposto"] resulting from the difference between the official exchange rate and the black market rate.

### Dos Santos in Difficulties

Applying that differential to the conversion of petroleum exports and to the imports of the Armed Forces, with strict restrictions on consumer credit, in the opinion of these specialists, Angola should immediately adopt an exchange rate of at least 15,000 kwanzas to the dollar, as against the current rate of 4,000 kwanzas. In that case, it would take only \$400 million to absorb the mass of currency outside the banking system, estimated at 6 trillion kwanzas.

Without a combination of measures of this type, "it will be difficult for us to create the conditions to negotiate an adjustment program with the IMF that could lead to a renegotiation and possible rescaling of the foreign debt, as well as access to the financing of that institution and its system of agencies," said an economist with the National Bank of Angola.

The signs of ideological resistance to the transition to democracy are observed in other areas, as well. At the parliamentary level, Franca Van Dunen, president of the National Assembly and member of the political "bureau" of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola], often slides into behavior that could only belong in an assembly of "popular power."

Sectors in the opposition and in his own party have come to ridicule him when he seeks "absentmindedly" to soften the critical tone of some speeches in exchange for "facilities" that the government must grant to the mem-bers of parliament. In the opinion of various observers, the measures which the Council of Ministers should adopt (including approval of the creation of the Intelligence Service within the National Security System) reflect difficulties involving President dos Santos's leadership in the management of the economy, leading some reformist sectors in the MPLA to question the role of a finance minister who is completely discredited in the international market. "We would rather work with a committed and coherent communist than to have to deal with the ambiguity, cynicism, and incompetence of a phony defender of the market economy," said an indignant World Bank expert.

### **Fewer Ministries**

A strategy that would swing more weight to the parliament is evidently being crafted in certain circles as part of a broad package of proposals for the reconversion of the government. These proposals, entrusted to a prestigious independent economist, were going in the direction of reorganization, with possible transfers, of the Presidency of the Republic and the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, with the implementation of a system of budget information, management of the treasury, management of the petroleum and diamond operations, monetary and exchange policy management, and management of the public accounts. The package would also include a recommendation for a drastic reduction of the present number of ministries and secretariats of state.

In some circles, the strengthening of the prime minister's powers in the financial area would, for now, be a temporary solution, but a proposal along these lines, recently submitted to the political "bureau" of the MPLA, was rejected and Marcelino Moco himself made it clear that he was not prepared to assume this weighty responsibility, nor to recommend changes in the governmental roster.

Some analysts feel that, in the face of the developing political-military crisis, Eduardo dos Santos may only be marking time and that later, with the inevitable resumption of negotiations between Luanda and the UNITA

[National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] and the apparent easing of the military situation, he will rule the government with an "iron hand."

### Malawi

# Banda Expected To Remain in Hospital Another 7-10 Days

MB1010144493 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1425 GMT 10 Oct 93

### [By Raphael Banda]

[Text] Johannesburg Oct 10 SAPA—Ailing Malawian President Kamuzu Banda was making steady progress in a Johannesburg hospital after undergoing brain surgery a week ago and hospital authorities said they expected him to remain there for the next 10 days.

Dr Andre Nel, general manager of the Garden City Clinic, said the Malawian leader had been depressed on Saturday [9 October]. He said the depression could be related to the surgery to drain excess fluid from the brain. "We are not really sure why he is feeling depressed. He has been sleeping a lot (but) the situation today is much improved. He was sitting up having lunch today," Dr Nel said. "He's definitely making steady progress."

Dr Banda, believed to be in his 90s, underwent two-hour surgery last Saturday after being flown from Malawi on an emergency flight. He was expected to be discharged within a week, but Dr Nel said he was likely to stay in the institution for another week or 10 days.

The illness of the president who has ruled the country since independence from Britain in 1964 triggered rumours of a power struggle and fears it could disrupt the country's progress towards a multi-party democracy. Sources in Malawi said on Sunday no official announcement had been made on who is running the country in the absence of Dr Banda who has ruled with an iron-fist since outlawing the opposition.

In terms of the ruling party's constitution, a three-man presidential commission of the party's secretary general and two senior cabinet ministers is supposed to take power in the event the president is incapacitated.

Opposition groups have said they planned meeting government officials to discuss the crisis sparked by Dr Banda's illness.

The country of nine million people is scheduled to hold democratic elections next May, following an overwhelming vote for multi-party politics in a referendum on June 14.

Foreign aid donors froze millions of rands in aid to press Dr Banda to institute political reforms. A number of western governments have since the referendum resumed aid to Malawi—citing progress towards democracy.

### Liberia

### NPFL Fighting at Firestone Plantation Kills 16

AB1110112993 Paris AFP in English 1102 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] Monrovia, Oct 11 (AFP)—Fighting among members of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) has left at least 16 dead on a Firestone rubber plantation, civilians fleeing the area said Monday. At least 12 NPFL guerillas and four civilians were killed last week in three days of clashes on the plantation northeast of Harbel, 50 kilometres (some 30 miles) east of Monrovia, they said.

The fighting broke out on Wednesday when some members of Liberia's main armed faction accused colleagues of collaborating with the Nigerian-led West African peacekeeping force ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group], sent to the country in August 1990.

About a thousand civilians have fled from the combat zone to Harbel, where relief agencies began distributing supplies to them on Monday. Aid workers said most of the displaced people were children suffering from serious malnutrition.

The NPFL is party to a cease-fire which took effect in August under a peace pact signed in July to end more than three years of civil war. But it refuses to disarm until more African troops join ECOMOG.

NPFL leader Charles Taylor has said he does not trust the force in its current shape, dominated by Nigeria which he considers hostile. ECOMOG troops fought off an NPFL offensive on Monrovia late last year.

### Nigeria

# Chief Shonekan Says Abiola Free To Run for Presidency

AB0810123593 Kaduna Radio Nigeria in English 0900 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Text] The head of state, Chief Ernest Shonekan, has said that Chief Moshood Abiola is free to run for the next presidential election. Chief Shonekan made this known yesterday in New York while addressing media executives during his official visit to the United States. He said that Chief Abiola was a freeborn of Nigeria and was entitled to aspire to the highest political office in his motherland.

The head of state assured the international community that the reconciliation effort of the interim national government is (?succeeding). Chief Ernest Shonekan then appealed to the political class, press, and the generality of Nigerians to ensure free and fair elections in February next year. On the issue of a national conference, the head of state remarked that the National Assembly was in a better place to tackle the national question.

# 'Concerned' Citizens Challenge 12 Jun Poll Inquiry

AB0810191193 Kaduna Radio Nigeria in English 1700 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Text] Four concerned Nigerians have filed a suit before the Kaduna High Court, seeking an interlocutory injunction restraining the judicial commission of inquiry on the June 12 annulled presidential election from sitting, or making any recommendations pending the determination of a substantive suit. Also joined as codefendants are the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the Interim National Government, and the Attorney General of the Federation.

The plaintiffs who instituted the court action are Tijani Aminu Boganji, Salisu Gambo, Sabo Adamu Wamba, and Abdulahi Maikano. They want the court to declare that the interim government has no power and competence to institute a commission of inquiry to probe the annulment of the election. The plaintiffs also want a declaration by the court that it was within the powers and competence of the then federal military government to annul the June 12 election, just as it canceled the 1992 presidential primaries. Furthermore, the court should declare that the June 12 election is a foregone issue, as well as declare that the commission of inquiry set up is illegal, unconstitutional, null and void. A Kaduna-based legal practitioner, Alhaji Yahaya Mahmud, is the counsel to the plaintiffs in the suit filed before the court today.

### **Judge Grants Group's Application**

AB1110191293 Kaduna Radio Nigeria in English 1700 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] A Kaduna High Court judge, Mr. Justice (Gobere Mallam), has granted an application by four persons (?before) the attorney general of the Federation in a case seeking to challenge the setting up of the committee of inquiry into the nullification of the June 12 election. The attorney general of the Federation was given 30 days within which to respond to the summons, while the plaintiffs were given leave to serve the writ of summons either personally or by courier service.

# Former Party Chief Akinloye Returns From Exile AB1010162293 Paris AFP in English 1547 GMT 10 Oct 93

[Text] Lagos, Oct 10 (AFP)—Chief Augustus Adisa Akinloye, the head of the defunct ruling party in Nigeria's second republic from 1979-83, arrived here Saturday [9 October] after a 10-year exile in Britain, reliable sources said Sunday in Lagos.

Akinloye, former chairman of the National Pary of Nigeria (NPN), left the country, in the wake of the coup which on December 31, 1983, toppled the four-year civilian regime of President Shehu Shagari.

Hundred of friends, relations and politicians were at the airport to welcome the 77-year-old lawyer and politician, whose return to the country has long been expected.

FBIS-AFR-93-195

12 October 1993

Ernest Shonekan, head of the interim national government which took over following disputed June presidential elections, has called for Nigerians exiled abroad to return home to contribute to the development of the country.

Two weeks ago, a former minister of justice in Alhaji Shagar's government and a powerful member of the NPN, Richard Akinjide, who also fled the country in the wake of the 1983 coup, also returned to the country.

# Universities Reopen; Lagos University To Recall Staff

AB1110120593 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 0600 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] All the universities are reopening from today after a five-month closure as a result of the strike by the Academic Staff Union of Universities, ASUU. The decision to reopen the institutions was taken at a meeting in Lagos of vice chancellors and prochancellors of the institutions with the secretary of education and youth development, Professor Abraham Imogie. The secretary said the meeting agreed that the universities should reopen because of the realization that the students were eager to return to school. In addition, he said the nonacademic staff of the institutions were willing to cooperate with the academic staff and indicated their interest to work for extra hours to make up for the lost time.

Students and personnel of the Lagos State University, expelled without fair hearing during the crisis in the institution, are to be recalled. The vice chancellor of the university, Professor (Apupogun Bababumi), said in an interview that the institution would reopen as other universities are reopening. He, however, did not give the exact date. Thirty-four students and 30 academic and nonacademic staff were expelled by the university at the peak of the long drawn crisis in the institution. The university has been closed for about 16 months. A report of the panel of inquiry submitted to Governor Michael Otedola last week identified underfunding and indiscipline as the major problems of the institution.

### Sierra Leone

# Government Troops Said Driving Rebels Toward Liberia

AB0910152593 Paris AFP in English 1501 GMT 9 Oct 93

[Text] Monrovia, Oct 9 (AFP)—Sierra Leone Government troops and Revolutionary United Front (RUF) rebels were involved in fierce fighting near the Liberian border, humanitarian sources said here Saturday [9 October].

Government troops were driving the rebels towards the Liberian town of Vahun, 190 kilometers (115 miles) northwest of the Liberian capital.

Belgian Medecins sans Frontiere aid group coordinator Lucas Van Den Broeck told AFP that "things are quite under control in Liberia and there is no mass movement of civilians from other border towns to Vahun."

"Sounds of shelling can be heard in Vahun" which is less than 10 kilometers (six miles) from the Sierra Leone border, he added.

The medical organization is helping in the construction of a field hospital in the region to "treat wounded people who might cross into Liberia."

The Sierra Leone Army which has fought RUF rebels, headed by Corporal Foday Sankoh, since March 1991 has managed to put down most rebellions in the eastern part of the country.

Troops recaptured the town of Kailahun, 300 kilometers (180 miles) east of Freetown, which is one the rebels' three strongholds, in mid-September.

On September 24, Sierra Leone warplanes bombed the town of Vahun in what was said to be an error, killing five people and wounding 48.

Sierra Leone officials said the attack had been aimed at a Sierra Leone border village occupied by rebels.

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